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1	IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
2	FOR THE WESTERN DISTRICT OF LOUISIANA
3	MONROE DIVISION
4	000
5	000
6	
	STATE OF MISSOURI, et al.,)
7) Plaintiff,)
8	vs.) Case No.
9) 3:22-cv-01213
10	JOSEPH R. BIDEN, JUNIOR, et) -TAD-KDM al.,
11	Defendants.)
12	,
13	
14	
15	000
16	TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 29, 2022
17	ZOOM VIDEOTAPED DEPOSITION OF ELVIS CHAN
18	000
19	
20	
21	
22	
23	
24	REPORTER: BALINDA DUNLAP, CSR 10710, RPR, CRR, RMR
25	

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1	REMOTE VIA ZOOM, CALIFORNIA, NOVEMBER 29, 2022
2	000
3	BE IT REMEMBERED that on Tuesday, the 29th
4	day of November 2022, commencing at the hour of
5	9:07 a.m. thereof, remotely via Zoom, California,
6	before me, Balinda Dunlap, a Certified Shorthand
7	Reporter in and for the County of San Francisco,
8	State of California, remotely appeared:
9	THE VIDEOGRAPHER: Okay. Good morning,
10	everyone. We are on the record. Today's date is
11	November 28 I'm sorry, 29th, 2022. The time is
12	9:07 a.m.
13	This is the video-recorded deposition of
14	Elvis Chan in the matter of State of Missouri
15	versus Joseph R. Biden, filed in U.S. District
16	Court for the Western District of Louisiana, Monroe
17	Division.
18	This deposition is being held at the U.S.
19	Attorney's Office, Northern District of California,
20	in San Francisco.
21	The reporter's name is Balinda Dunlap. My
22	name is Ruslan Gurzhiy. I am the legal
23	videographer. We are here with Lexitas Legal.
24	Will the attorneys present please
25	introduce themselves and the parties they

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1	represent.
2	MR. SAUER: John Sauer on behalf of the
3	Missouri Attorney General's Office and State of
4	Missouri. I am joined by my colleagues Ken Capps
5	and Todd Scott, as well as John Burns and Jenin
6	Younes on behalf of private plaintiffs.
7	MR. SUR: I am Indraneel; my last name is
8	Sur, S-u-r. I'm at the Phoenix Department of
9	Justice, Civil Division, Federal Programs Branch,
10	representing the defendants in this matter.
11	(Discussion off the record.)
12	THE VIDEOGRAPHER: Okay. Any feedback
13	now? Okay. Somebody hold this. Please continue.
14	MR. SUR: I am Indraneel; my last name is
15	Sur, S-u-r. I am at the United States Department
16	of Justice, Civil Division, Federal Programs
17	Branch; and we are representing the defendants
18	today, and some of my colleagues are as well.
19	MR. BERGER: Okay. I am just announcing
20	myself. I don't know if I am out of order, though.
21	Berger, Lawrence Berger. I represent Elvis Chan.
22	(Discussion off the record.)
23	//
24	//
25	//

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1		ELVIS CHAN
2		called as a witness by the Plaintiff,
3	having 1	been sworn to tell the truth, the whole
4	truth,	and nothing but the truth, was examined and
5	testifi	ed as follows:
6		EXAMINATION BY MR. SAUER
7	Q.	Would you please state your name for the
8	record.	
9	Α.	My name is Elvis Chan, E-l-v-i-s, C-h-a-n.
10	Q.	And what's your occupation, sir?
11	Α.	My title is the Assistant Special Agent in
12	Charge	of the Cyber Branch for San Francisco
13	Divisio	n of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.
14	Q.	How long have you worked for the San
15	Francis	co Division of the FBI?
16	Α.	I have worked for the FBI for over 17
17	years.	
18	Q.	Have you been in San Francisco the whole
19	time?	
20	Α.	Minus three years at headquarters.
21	Q.	Was that in Washington, D.C.?
22	Α.	Yes. From 2011 to 2014.
23	Q.	Have you ever given a deposition before?
24	Α.	No, I have not.
25	Q.	Is this your first deposition?

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1	A. Yes. This is my first civil deposition.
2	Q. How about criminal depositions?
3	A. I have not given criminal depositions
4	before.
5	Q. Can I just go over a few kind of common
6	ground rules with you?
7	First of all, as I'm asking the questions
8	today, can you listen carefully to the question
9	that I'm asking and answer the question that I ask?
10	Can you do that?
11	A. Yes.
12	Q. And if you don't understand the question,
13	could you please ask me for clarification instead
14	of guessing at what my meaning might be in
15	responding to a question that you're not sure is
16	what I'm asking? Can you do that?
17	A. Yes.
18	Q. And can you and I be careful not to
19	interrupt each other, just because that makes the
20	record unclear and life difficult for the court
21	reporter?
22	A. Yes.
23	Q. Also, could you be careful to respond with
24	actual oral responses, not with head-shakes and
25	"huh-uhs" and "uh-huhs" and things like that, just

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- 1 so that the record's clear? For example, "yes" and
- 2 "no," not "uh-huh" and not nodding or shaking the
- 3 heads; can you do that?
- 4 A. Yes.
- 5 Q. And in addition, let's both -- I think we
- 6 both are fast talkers, especially me. Can we both
- 7 make an effort to talk slowly enough today so that
- 8 the court reporter has a chance to take down what
- 9 we're saying?
- 10 A. Yes.
- 11 Q. Can you describe your educational
- 12 background?
- 13 A. I graduated from the University of
- 14 Washington with a bachelor of science degree in
- 15 chemical engineering and chemistry, and then I
- 16 graduated from the Naval Postgraduate School with a
- 17 master of arts in homeland security studies.
- 18 Q. When did you graduate from the Naval
- 19 Postgraduate School?
- 20 A. Last year, 2021, in September.
- 21 Q. Oh, and you got a -- did you say you got
- 22 an MA there?
- 23 A. Yes.
- Q. Did you do a thesis in connection with
- 25 that -- that degree?

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1	A. Yes, I did.
2	Q. What was the title of the thesis?
3	A. "Fighting Bears and Trolls:" Russian
4	disinformation against the 2020 elections and the
5	social media companies and U.S. government
6	countermeasures.
7	Q. I am showing you a document previously
8	marked as Exhibit 1. Is this, in fact, a copy of
9	that thesis?
10	(Reporter marked Exhibit No. 1 for
11	identification.)
12	THE WITNESS: Yes, that is a copy of that
13	thesis.
14	Q. BY MR. SAUER: Okay. You are listed as
15	the sole author there on the first page?
16	A. That is correct.
17	Q. Okay. And again, as you've noted earlier,
18	this is, I think, dated just over a year ago,
19	September of 2021, correct?
20	A. That is correct.
21	Q. Can I just can you kind of generally
22	characterize what this thesis is about? You know,
23	what's the topic? What are you investigating,
24	researching or defending?
25	MR. SUR: Objection; compound.

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Τ	Q.	BY M	IR.	SAUER:	You	may	answer.

- 2 A. Okay. So my thesis, the synopsis of it is
- 3 I examined Russian malign-influence activities,
- 4 specifically on social media platforms, ahead of
- 5 and during the 2020 elections. And then I examined
- 6 the actions taken by three social media companies;
- 7 specifically Google; Meta, which was previously
- 8 Facebook; and Twitter; and then I also examined the
- 9 U.S. government's countermeasures against Russian
- 10 actions.
- 11 Q. When you say "Google," do they operate
- 12 YouTube?
- 13 A. Yes, they do.
- 14 Q. So your reference to Google would
- encompass YouTube; investigating, you know, these
- 16 kinds of issues on YouTube as well?
- 17 A. That is correct. And if I may add, when I
- 18 reference Meta or Facebook, I mean all of the
- 19 Meta-associated products, which include Facebook,
- 20 Instagram and WhatsApp.
- Q. Would that include Nextdoor too?
- 22 A. It would not include Nextdoor.
- 23 Q. Is that is not a Meta app?
- 24 A. It is not a Meta-owned company.
- Q. Okay. You referred to, I think, Russian

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1	malign-influence activities. Can you describe what
2	what does that mean?
3	A. So there are in my thesis, there are
4	there's a description of two types of Russian
5	malign-influence activities. I am specifically
6	talking about online activities.
7	The first type of activity is what is
8	known generally as a hack-and-dump activity. I
9	think the best example I would have of that is the
10	hack of the Democratic National Committee and the
11	DCCC, the Democratic Congressional Campaign
12	Committee, in 2016; hacking of their servers; and
13	then the leaking or dumping of their information on
14	the Internet over the course of the 2016 election
15	season. That is one type of Russian malign
16	influence, but I do not focus on that in the
17	thesis. I do reference it.
18	The second type of Russian malign
19	influence that I discuss in the thesis itself is on
20	the social media platforms and on fake news
21	websites that the Russians have created.
22	Q. And is there a connection between those?
23	Like, the fake news sites, do those get, you know,
24	boosted up to social media platforms by the
25	Russians?

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1	A. Yes. From my thesis, I was able to
2	determine that the social media platforms were used
3	to direct viewers from the social media platforms
4	to the fake news sites being controlled by Russian
5	state-sponsored actors.
6	Q. And those viewers, I take it, would
7	include American citizens who were being
8	principally targeted by these activities?
9	MR. SUR: Objection; vague.
10	Q. BY MR. SAUER: Were they
11	A. I am not sure, but it would be I'm not
12	sure of who the viewers would be, but whoever would
13	look at the fake Russian accounts and click on the
14	link or be directed to the website. But I do not
15	know who the specific users are.
16	Q. Does your thesis have evidence that people
17	actually did that? In other words, that people
18	actually clicked through and accessed the Russian
19	fake news sites?
20	MR. SUR: Objection; compound.
21	THE WITNESS: So my thesis my thesis
22	was based on the report of both the social media
23	companies as well as third parties, such as
24	Graphika. So I relied on their analysis of the
25	direct data.

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1	Q. BY MR. SAUER: Did their analysis indicate
2	that there had been, in fact, that kind of
3	engagement of viewers of the social media accounts
4	to go through to the fake news sites?
5	A. From both the social media company
6	standpoint, the answer is yes; but in general, I
7	was told that it was a, quote/quote, low
8	engagement, from what they could tell.
9	And then from the third-party reports,
10	they did not characterize it as much. They said
11	that they believed that viewers could be directed,
12	but they did not say who the amount were or the
13	percentage of any of those viewers.
14	Q. And did your research indicate a higher
15	level of engagement with the kind of fake social
16	media accounts operated by the Russians than the
17	fake news websites?
18	A. Yes. In general, yes.
19	Q. Let me ask this: You referred a minute
20	ago to U.S. government countermeasures, I believe.
21	Can you describe, just generally, what sort of U.S.
22	government countermeasures do you discuss in the
23	thesis?
24	A. So there were three U.S. government
25	countermeasures that I discussed in the thesis.

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1	Number one was an initiative that the FBI took
2	called the Protected Voices Initiative. That was
3	actually focused on hack-and-dump operations. And
4	the Protected Voices Initiative was cybersecurity
5	briefings and awareness training provided for all
6	the national-level political committees, such as
7	the RNC, the DNC, the RSCC, the DCCC. Briefings
8	were provided by our Washington field office.
9	And then briefings were also provided to
10	the vast majority of the presidential candidates
11	for the 2020 election season. I think there were
12	approximately two dozen of those presidential
13	candidates that were provided them and their
14	senior staff were provided cybersecurity briefings.
15	That was one of the measures that was taken.
16	A second measure that was taken was the
17	information sharing with the private sector
18	companies, where we shared both strategic-level
19	information as well as tactical information.
20	And then the third the third measure I
21	think I mentioned in the thesis was that the
22	CISA Act, the formation of the Cybersecurity and
23	Information Security Agency in 2018 and their
24	ability to provide state, county and local election
25	officials with both grants, federal grants to

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- 1 improve their infrastructure as well as with
- 2 cybersecurity training.
- Q. Okay. That was -- you said a lot there,
- 4 and I just want to ask you a few follow-up
- 5 questions to kind of unpack it.
- 6 I think you said the second U.S.
- 7 government countermeasure was information sharing;
- 8 is that right?
- 9 A. That's correct.
- 10 Q. What is a --
- 11 A. I might have the order incorrect. I
- 12 haven't looked in my thesis since over a year, but
- 13 yeah.
- 14 Q. Well, let me ask you this: Information
- sharing, you know, is that information sharing
- 16 between federal agencies and social media
- 17 platforms?
- 18 A. That is information sharing between the
- 19 FBI and the -- in the thesis I focus on the three
- 20 social media companies.
- Q. So -- so specifically your thesis focuses
- on information sharing between the FBI and
- 23 basically Facebook, Google and Twitter, right?
- 24 A. That is correct.
- Q. Yeah. Is there other information sharing

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1 that happened by other federal agencies on issues 2 that relate to this? 3 MR. SUR: Objection; lacks foundation, 4 vaque. 5 Q. BY MR. SAUER: If you know. 6 Α. I am generally aware that other federal 7 agencies want to do private sector engagement, but I am not familiar with the frequency of the 9 information sharing or the type of information 10 sharing. 11 Do you know which other federal agencies 12 do that? 13 MR. SUR: Objection; vague, lacks 14 foundation. 15 THE WITNESS: I have been -- I am aware 16 specifically that CISA, the Cybersecurity and 17 Infrastructure Security Agency, does information sharing in terms of elections with the social media 18 19 companies. 20 BY MR. SAUER: To the extent you know, Q. 2.1 what kind of information sharing do they do? 2.2 All of the information that I have 2.3 personally witnessed comes through what CISA has 24 called the "industry working group." That includes 25 the three social media companies I mentioned.

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- 1 the type of information that they have shared is
- 2 generally about when the primaries for each state
- 3 happen and then to highlight anything that they
- 4 believe is a -- unique or different from
- 5 standard -- or from what is considered normal.
- For example, like an Iowa caucus is not a
- 7 normal type of primary. Most states do not run
- 8 caucuses, so they will highlight something like an
- 9 Iowa caucus. They will also highlight the election
- 10 methods that are used in different states, whether
- 11 it be a paper ballot or an electronic device, like
- 12 a touch-screen device.
- 13 Q. That industry working group, do you
- 14 personally participate in that?
- 15 A. I have participated in several of them.
- 16 Q. How often do they occur?
- 17 A. For the year 2020, I think for the first
- 18 half of the year they occurred quarterly. So I
- 19 think, you know, every three months.
- 20 And then for the last half of the year, I
- 21 want to say around the June, July time frame, it
- 22 moved to monthly.
- 23 Q. How about in 2022?
- 24 A. In 2022 I believe they were about the
- 25 same. It happened quarterly. And then I believe

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- 1 ahead of the midterm elections they moved to
- 2 monthly; except due to my conflicting schedule, I
- 3 believe I was only able to attend about three of
- 4 the meetings this year.
- 5 Q. When you say "attend," are these all done,
- 6 you know, by Zoom? Or are there -- is there a big
- 7 kind of in-person meeting?
- 8 A. And I have attended via videoconference,
- 9 and it's not Zoom. It's typically whatever the
- 10 private sector companies want to use. So I have
- 11 seen Cisco Webex or BlueJeans. Those are the two I
- 12 remember.
- 13 Q. Do a lot of companies participate in these
- 14 meetings?
- 15 A. Yes. Several companies participate in
- 16 these meetings.
- Q. Okay. But which ones, do you recall?
- 18 A. I do -- I do recall. I don't know if
- 19 that's law enforcement sensitive or not. I don't
- 20 know if the companies want to be disclosed.
- Q. Please tell us on the record what
- 22 companies participated.
- 23 A. Meta --
- 24 MR. BERGER: Yeah, Elvis, is this -- is it
- 25 classified or protected? How do you -- what's your

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1	understanding of the classification of this
2	information?
3	THE WITNESS: My understanding is that
4	this is that this is sensitive information and
5	that the
6	MR. BERGER: All right. I'll direct
7	you I'll direct you not to disclose it. We'll
8	have to take it to the judge.
9	MR. SAUER: Okay. Is this a okay. You
10	realize the government has already disclosed that
11	information in interrogatories for this case.
12	(Discussion off the record.)
13	MR. SAUER: You realize this information
14	has already been disclosed by the government in
15	their interrogatory responses in this case.
16	And in addition to that, there is no
17	privilege of law enforcement sensitive. There is a
18	law enforcement investigative files privilege that
19	is clearly inapplicable here.
20	And also, are both counsel going to
21	instruct the witness not to answer questions here?
22	MR. BERGER: Well, if it's already been
23	disclosed in interrogatories, why don't you ask him
24	based on you know, give him the names that have
25	already disclosed.

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1	MD CAUED. Ild like to among worify the
	MR. SAUER: I'd like to cross-verify the
2	information I got from the government from someone
3	who personally participated in the meetings, and
4	I'm entitled to do that.
5	MR. SUR: Counsel, if I may, I do you
6	think it would be helpful to have a break at this
7	point to sort this out?
8	MR. SAUER: Yeah. We can go off the
9	record.
10	MR. SUR: Okay.
11	MR. SAUER: Okay.
12	THE VIDEOGRAPHER: Off the record off
13	the record at 9:27 a.m.
14	(Whereupon a recess was taken.)
15	THE VIDEOGRAPHER: We are back on the
16	record at 9:37 a.m.
17	MR. SAUER: So, Counsel, where are we?
18	Are you standing on that objection?
19	MR. BERGER: I withdraw the objection. Go
20	ahead.
21	MR. SAUER: Yeah. Thank you. As a
22	process point, I am requesting that one attorney
23	make the objections and represent him in this
24	deposition, not two. Now, I have no problem if
25	Mr. Berger wants to flag something for Mr. Sur.

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- 1 But I understand that Mr. Sur is defending the
- 2 deposition, not Mr. Berger. So if you've got an
- 3 issue, I don't mind if you guys want to talk about
- 4 it, but I don't want to have multiple -- multiple
- 5 attorneys objecting and instructions being started.
- 6 Can we proceed on that basis from now on?
- 7 MR. SUR: We intend to do so. There my be
- 8 some exceptional circumstances that warrant a
- 9 different approach, but that's how we expect to
- 10 proceed.
- 11 MR. SAUER: I am fine to hear that. You
- 12 know, if things come up that raise an issue, you
- 13 know, we can -- we can raise them. But, yeah,
- 14 anyway, all right. I mean, to be clear, you know,
- any law enforcement privilege is held by the
- 16 government, not by Mr. Chan's personal capacity,
- 17 and Mr. Sur is the one who is there to represent
- 18 the government today.
- 19 Q. So -- but anyway, okay. Mr. Chan, or
- 20 Agent Chan, who do you recall on the social media
- 21 platform side participating in these -- in these
- working group meetings that you have been
- 23 testifying about from 2020 and 2022?
- 24 A. The companies that I remember attending
- 25 the meetings are Facebook; Microsoft; Google;

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- 1 Twitter; Yahoo!, which may have been known as
- 2 Verizon Media at the time; Wikimedia Foundation and
- 3 Reddit.
- 4 Q. Do you remember any others at this time?
- 5 A. I think I listed seven. I -- those were,
- 6 like, the regular participants that I can remember.
- 7 Q. How about on the U.S. government side,
- 8 what agencies were represented at these meetings?
- 9 A. At these meetings, CISA is the host and
- 10 facilitator for the meeting. They also invite
- 11 another component of Department of Homeland
- 12 Security called Intelligence and Analysis, I&A, so
- 13 DHS I&A I know attends. The Office of the Director
- of National Intelligence, ODNI, attends. And then
- 15 from the FBI there is typically a representative
- 16 from the FBI's Foreign Influence Task Force, which
- 17 you will hear me abbreviate as FITF regularly. And
- 18 then I attend from FBI San Francisco when I am
- 19 available.
- Q. And why are you included in particular?
- 21 A. The reason that I attend these meetings is
- 22 because the way the FBI works is FBI field offices
- 23 are responsible for maintaining the day-to-day
- 24 relationships with the companies that are
- 25 headquartered in their area of responsibility,

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- 1 which I may occasionally abbreviate to AOR. And
- 2 all of the companies that have been listed, with
- 3 the exception of Microsoft, are all headquartered
- 4 in FBI San Francisco's territory.
- 5 Q. Now, where is Microsoft headquartered?
- 6 A. They are headquartered in Redmond,
- 7 Washington.
- Q. And then on the CISA side in particular,
- 9 what individuals participate in these meetings?
- 10 A. Typically there are senior-level -- what I
- 11 believe are senior-level officials. The two that I
- 12 specifically remember are Matt Masterson and Brian
- 13 Scully.
- 14 Q. Is that Matt Masterson, did you say?
- 15 A. Yeah. Yeah, Matthew Masterson and Brian
- 16 Scully are the two regular attendees. And they are
- 17 usually -- one or both of them -- one -- either one
- 18 of them is usually emceeing the meeting.
- 19 Q. So Brian Scully, do you know him
- 20 personally?
- 21 A. I know him just through work.
- 22 Q. Okay. In what connection at work?
- 23 A. And I only know -- I only know
- 24 Mr. Masterson through work as well.
- Q. When you say you know him through work,

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- did you work together on anything other than these
- 2 meetings?
- 3 A. So we have met -- I want to say I have met
- 4 in person with each of those individuals, twice in
- 5 person; but they are primarily through either the
- 6 preparatory calls for these meetings that they are
- 7 hosting or the meetings themselves.
- 8 Q. So you work with CISA in preparatory calls
- 9 for these industry working group meetings?
- 10 A. Yes.
- 11 Q. And in that connection, you've met Brian
- 12 Scully and Matt Masterson, correct?
- 13 A. Yes.
- 14 Q. And Brian Scully is involved in kind of
- 15 leading or emceeing these meetings; is that right?
- MR. SUR: Objection; vague.
- 0. BY MR. SAUER: Or is he the -- is he the
- 18 leader of the meeting when it convenes?
- 19 A. For the 2020 election cycle, Mr. Masterson
- 20 was the primarily -- he was primarily the
- 21 facilitator. Ahead of the 2022 midterm elections,
- 22 Mr. Scully has been the primary facilitator.
- O. Was that because Mr. Masterson left CISA
- in the -- in the intervening time?
- 25 A. Yes.

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1	Q. Do you know where he works now?
2	A. Yes. I believe he works at Microsoft now.
3	Q. Do you do you interact with him now as
4	a representative of a of a tech company?
5	MR. SUR: Objection; vague.
6	THE WITNESS: I have only interacted with
7	him on two occasions. One was when he showed up at
8	one of the more recent industry meetings ahead of
9	the 2022 midterm elections. That is when I
10	discovered that he went to Microsoft. And then I
11	asked him to send me his new contact information
12	during the call, and then he sent me an email and
13	provided me with his new contact information.
14	Q. BY MR. SAUER: You work with CISA on these
15	industry working group meetings to help prepare
16	them, what's the nature of your involvement in
17	preparing for these meetings? Do you kind of set
18	the agenda or you know, what's your involvement?
19	MR. SUR: Objection; vague and compound
20	and implicates the deliberative process privilege.
21	MR. SAUER: Let me rephrase the question.
22	Q. Are you involved in preparing for these
23	meetings?
24	A. No. I participate in the preparation
25	meetings, but I do not provide any agenda items.

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1	Q. Do you remember anyone else at CISA
2	besides Mr. Scully and Mr. Masterson who
3	participates in these meetings?
4	A. I don't recollect any other people's names
5	at this time.
6	Q. Were there others who participated in
7	but you just don't remember who they were?
8	A. Yes, that is correct.
9	Q. Okay. Let me do you still have Exhibit
10	1 on the screen in front of you, your thesis?
11	A. Yes.
12	Q. Okay. Let me ask let's turn back to
13	that for a little while. And if we could, I am
14	going to scroll ahead to your abstract on Page v.
15	Can you see that clearly, Roman numeral v.
16	MR. SUR: Roman numeral v. Okay.
17	THE WITNESS: Yes, I see it now.
18	Q. BY MR. SAUER: And can you see it also on
19	the screen share as well as on the iPad? I want to
20	make sure you can see the document in both places
21	as we go forward today.
22	A. I can see the bottom half of one
23	paragraph, and then wait, now now I see

Q. Actually, can I -- can I direct your

24 yeah, I see the bottom paragraph of the --

25

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- 1 attention this sentence here in your abstract that
- I am highlighting? I guess, actually, for context,
- 3 if you see above -- actually, just focus on that
- 4 sentence. "This" -- you say, "This thesis finds
- 5 that the Russians shifted their tactics from 2016
- 6 to 2020," right?
- 7 A. Correct.
- 8 Q. And then you say, "Still, the U.S.
- 9 government and social media companies effectively
- 10 impeded their influence campaigns primarily through
- 11 information sharing and account takedowns,
- 12 respectively," correct?
- 13 A. Correct.
- 14 Q. What do you mean by "information sharing"
- 15 here?
- 16 A. So "information sharing" is meant --
- 17 there -- as I mentioned previously, there are two
- 18 types of information that the U.S. government,
- 19 specifically the FBI, shares with the social media
- 20 companies. The first type of information, the
- 21 strategic information, which discusses the tools,
- 22 tactics or processes, shortened to be TPPs, used by
- 23 the Russians.
- 24 The second type of information shared by
- 25 the U.S. government is tactical information. And

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1	when I mean tactical information, I specifically
2	mean indicators or selectors. And both of those
3	are a term of art within the cybersecurity
4	industry. And indicators or selectors include IP
5	addresses, email accounts, social media accounts,
6	well, website domain names, and, like, file hash
7	values.
8	Q. Sorry. Say the last thing. What kind of
9	hash values?
10	A. File, like electronic file hash values.
11	Q. Okay. And so, yeah, I take it the
12	strategic information is kind of high-level advice
13	to the social media platforms about, you know, the
14	kinds of kinds of campaigns the Russians might
15	be conducting; is that fair to say?
16	MR. SUR: Objection; lacks foundation.
17	THE WITNESS: I would not I would not
18	characterize the information we share as advice.

22 engaging in when it comes to social media influence 23 campaigns?

about what FBI understands the Russians are

Q. BY MR. SAUER: Okay. Then in that case it

is sort of -- is it high-level general information

- 24 MR. SUR: Objection; lacks foundation.
- 25 THE WITNESS: Yes.

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19

20

21

BY MR. SAUER: And then -- go ahead.

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2	Sorry. Go ahead.
3	A. I can provide an example if that would be
4	illustrative.
5	Q. That would be super helpful. Please do.
6	A. I had the 2020 elections, through our
7	investigation of the Internet Research Agency, we
8	discovered that they were trying to set up a base,
9	as it were, or set up offices in western Africa.
10	We shared this type of strategic information with
11	the social media companies. They were able to use

Q. Okay. And so you mentioned earlier that tactical -- that would be strategic information?

whatever detection methods they have to discover

that there were Russian troll farms being set up

- 17 A. That would be strategic. To summarize, an
- 18 example would be we believe the Russian troll

specifically in Ghana and Nigeria.

- 19 farms, specifically the Internet Research Agency,
- 20 is trying to make inroads in western Africa.
- Q. Got you. And then tactical information
- 22 would be much more specific. Here are specific --
- 23 I think you said IP addresses, websites, social
- 24 media accounts, that are actually -- the FBI has
- 25 concluded are being operated by the Russians. Is

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1

12

13

14

Q.

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1	that what tactical information is?
2	A. That is correct.
3	Q. So there is and so is there information
4	sharing from the FBI to social media platforms
5	providing that kind of specific tactical-level
6	information?
7	A. Yes, there is.
8	Q. And I think your that then the timeline
9	in your thesis goes on specifically with
10	"information sharing and account takedowns." Does
11	"account takedowns" refer to the social media
12	platforms kind of taking down those social media
13	accounts where the FBI identifies them as being
14	operated by Russian actors?
15	MR. SUR: Objection; lacks foundation.
16	THE WITNESS: So the FBI shares
17	information with the social media companies, no
18	strings attached, so that the social media
19	companies can protect their platforms as they deem
20	appropriate. And from what I have observed and
21	what they have told me when we have provided them
22	with high confidence of Russian selectors, that
23	they have been able to discover fake Russian
24	accounts and take them down.
25	Q. BY MR. SAUER: So you don't control what

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2	A. I do not control what they do.
3	Q. But you provide them with information that
4	they don't have about the source of certain you
5	called them selectors or social media accounts,
6	correct?

7 A. Correct.

they do, correct?

1

- Q. And when you provide them with that information, they take it and they pull down those accounts, at least sometimes, fair to say?
- 11 MR. SUR: Objection; lacks foundation.
- 12 THE WITNESS: If I can clarify, what they
- do is they take the information that we share, they
- 14 validate it through their own means. And then if
- 15 they determine that these are accounts being
- 16 operated by Russian state-sponsored actors, then
- 17 they have taken them down.
- 18 Q. BY MR. SAUER: Oh, okay. And then -- and
- 19 that's, I -- I take it, part of the point of your
- 20 sharing the information with them, right? So that
- 21 they can assess and evaluate and then ultimately,
- 22 if they agree with your conclusion, take them down,
- 23 correct?
- 24 A. Correct.
- 25 Q. In other words, the purpose of the

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- 1 information sharing on the FBI's side is to have
- 2 the inauthentic Russian accounts taken down so that
- 3 they are not influencing political discourse in the
- 4 United States, correct?
- 5 MR. SUR: Objection; lacks foundation,
- 6 calls for speculation.
- 7 THE WITNESS: I would characterize it as
- 8 the FBI provides information to these companies so
- 9 that they can protect their platforms as they deem
- 10 appropriate, and they can take whatever actions
- 11 they deem appropriate without any suggestion or
- 12 interference from the FBI.
- 13 Q. BY MR. SAUER: But my question's a little
- 14 different, which is what -- my question is: Part
- of the purpose from the FBI's perspective is to
- 16 give them the tools to assess and potentially take
- 17 down accounts that the FBI has deemed to be
- 18 inauthentic, correct?
- 19 MR. SUR: Objection; lacks foundation,
- 20 calls for speculation.
- 21 Q. BY MR. SAUER: You may answer.
- 22 A. So I would say -- inauthentic -- so my
- 23 focus is on Russian state-sponsored, -controlled
- 24 accounts. And so whether the companies take them
- 25 down or not, it's their own choice.

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1	Q. Right, but is it your purpose in giving
2	them the information that the FBI believes or has
3	concluded that they are Russian-operated accounts,
4	is it your purpose to equip them to take them down
5	if they end up agreeing with your assessment?
6	MR. SUR: Objection; lacks foundation,
7	calls for speculation.
8	THE WITNESS: My purpose is to share the
9	information with them so that they can protect
10	their platforms as they deem appropriate.
11	Q. BY MR. SAUER: And one way to protect
12	their platforms is to take down these accounts,
13	correct?
14	A. That is correct.
15	Q. And, in fact, that's what you say here in
16	this sentence, right? You say that, "the U.S.
17	government and social media companies effectively
18	impeded their influence campaignsthrough
19	information sharing and account takedowns," right?
20	A. I said that. You can see I put
21	"respectively" because it was the U.S. government,
22	specifically the FBI, sharing information; and it
23	was the social media companies doing the account
24	takedowns.
25	Q. Right. And the joint result of that was

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1 effectively impeding Russian influence campaigns, 2 correct? 3 Α. Correct. 4 And -- and that's FITF's goal, right? Ο. 5 effectively impede Russian influence campaigns, 6 right? 7 MR. SUR: Objection; lacks foundation, 8 calls for speculation. 9 THE WITNESS: Yeah, FITF -- my understanding of FITF's goal is to counter malign 10 11 foreign-influence campaigns. 12 BY MR. SAUER: Does that include Q. 13 effectively impeding their influence campaigns, as 14 you say in your thesis? 15 Α. Yes. 16 Does that include doing so through account 17 takedowns by information sharing with social media 18 platforms? 19 MR. SUR: Objection; lacks foundation, 20 mischaracterizes the testimony. 2.1 THE WITNESS: Yeah, I believe you're 2.2 mischaracterizing. So like I said before, the FBI 2.3 shares information with no strings attached and no 24 expectations to -- for the companies. And the 25 companies, they can protect their own platforms.

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1 MR. SAUER: I am going to jump ahead to 2 page little Roman xvii. 3 You can see there, Indraneel, it's going 4 to be on Page 19 of the PDF. See that? 5 MR. SUR: Yep. Yeah, we're on it. 6 Okay. I believe this is a Ο. BY MR. SAUER: 7 kind of summary section of your thesis. You talk about in this paragraph here that begins with, "The 9 U.S. government's response," that I have 10 highlighted; do you see that? 11 Α. Yes. 12 And you say, "The U.S. government's Q. 13 response to the Russian influence campaign appeared 14 more robust before the 2020 elections than in the 15 2016 or 2018 elections, "correct? 16 Α. Correct. 17 Q. And then in the next sentence, you say, 18 "The most important actions taken by the U.S. 19 government may have been the information sharing 20 with the social media companies to expose Russia's 2.1 different operations and shut down its accounts," 2.2 correct? 2.3 Α. Correct. 24 So the information sharing was done, "To Q. 25 expose Russia's different operations and shut down

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- 1 its accounts," right?
- 2 A. Correct.
- Q. And then "its" refers to Russia, right?
- 4 So (as read) "to expose Russia's different
- 5 operations and shut down Russia's accounts,"
- 6 correct?
- 7 A. Correct.
- 8 Q. I am going to jump ahead a few pages to
- 9 Page xxii.
- 10 MR. SAUER: And, Indraneel, if you're
- 11 following on your iPad, that's going to be Page 24
- 12 of the PDF.
- 13 Q. There's a reference here in the
- 14 acknowledgments where you refer to, "My colleagues
- 15 back at headquarters who were in the trenches with
- me as we worked to protect the 2020 elections."
- 17 See that?
- 18 A. Yes.
- 19 Q. Okay. What are you talking about there
- where it says (as read), "in the trenches with you
- as you worked to protect the 2020 elections"?
- 22 A. I'm referring to my colleagues
- 23 specifically at the Foreign Influence Task Force
- 24 who participated in the meetings with me, who
- 25 provided briefings to the companies and who

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1	1' 1	. 1	' - '	, ,
1	coordinated	the	information	sharing.
_				

- 2 Q. And so you said you had meetings with the
- 3 companies. What meetings did you have?
- 4 A. We had -- let me be more clear. I hosted
- 5 meetings, bilateral meetings between each of the
- 6 companies I mentioned and the Foreign Influence
- 7 Task Force.
- 8 And we would also bring in field offices
- 9 that had investigations related to malign foreign
- 10 influence by state-sponsored actors. We would also
- 11 bring in field offices that had cyber
- 12 investigations. And when I mean cyber
- investigations, I mean state-sponsored actors that
- 14 the FBI was investigating that we believe were
- 15 capable of hack-and-dump campaigns that we observed
- 16 in the 2016 election.
- 17 Q. Okay. Let me unpack that a bit.
- 18 First of all, you said there were meetings
- with social media companies, between you and social
- 20 media companies during the 2020 election cycle,
- 21 correct? Is that what we're talking about?
- 22 A. Yes, that is correct.
- Q. Now, did those meetings also continue in
- the 2022 election cycle?
- 25 A. Yes. They occur at roughly a quarterly

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- 1 cadence. 2 And then do they -- does the cadence
- 3 increase as elections get close?
- 4 Yes, they do. And --Α.
- 5 Now, does that become monthly as the Q.
- 6 election nears and then weekly very close to the
- 7 elections?

Q.

- Α. Ahead of the 2020 elections, that is
- 9 correct. Ahead of the 2022 elections, we moved it
- 10 from quarterly to monthly, and then we just had one
- 11 meeting a week ahead of the midterm elections.
- 12 I'm sorry. You said you had one weekly Q.
- 13 meeting ahead of the midterm elections?
- 14 Right. We had one meeting a week before Α.
- 15 the midterm elections.
- 16 Oh, and how long was the -- how long was
- 17 that period of weekly meetings? Was that, like,
- 18 the month before or the three months before?
- 19 Α. No. Just the week before the election
- 20 itself.
- 2.1 Q. Oh, okay. There was one weekly meeting,
- 22 right, the week before the election?
- 2.3 There was -- yeah. So there was a Α. Yeah.
- 24 monthly meeting in October; and then we had another
- 25 meeting out of -- you know, out of cadence the week

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- 1 before the election, so the end of October.
- 2 Q. And then are these meetings going back to
- guarterly now that the election has passed?
- 4 A. That is correct.
- 5 Q. And so you're -- you'll have quarterly
- 6 meetings with the social media companies going
- 7 forward until the 2024 election cycle gets closer?
- 8 A. That is what I anticipate.
- 9 Q. And then as that election gets closer,
- 10 then you'll move to monthly and eventually weekly a
- 11 couple years from now, or in the fall of 2024; is
- 12 that fair to say?
- 13 MR. SUR: Objection; calls for
- 14 speculation.
- 15 THE WITNESS: That is what I anticipate.
- 16 Q. BY MR. SAUER: Let me ask you this: What
- 17 social media companies are involved in these
- 18 meetings?
- MR. SUR: Objection; vague.
- THE WITNESS: Currently or in 2020?
- Q. BY MR. SAUER: Well, let's start with
- 22 2020. I'd like to know both. Let's start with
- 23 **2020**, please.
- 24 A. So for the 2020 elections, we regularly
- 25 met with Facebook, Google, Twitter, Yahoo!, Reddit

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- 1 and LinkedIn.
- Q. Okay. And then who did you -- which
- 3 social media companies did you meet with in 2022?
- 4 A. The same companies; and we -- less -- not
- 5 on a quarterly basis, but on a periodic basis,
- 6 maybe twice this year, we also met with Apple and
- 7 Wikimedia Foundation.
- 8 Q. Does Apple operate social media platforms?
- 9 A. They do not.
- 10 Q. Then why did they get added to this -- the
- 11 list?
- 12 A. They were added because they are a cloud
- infrastructure company; and we believe that
- 14 tactical information, specifically indicators that
- 15 we shared with them related to
- 16 foreign-state-sponsored actors, might pop up on
- 17 any -- any screening they do on iCloud.
- 18 Q. How about in the 2018 election cycle, did
- 19 these meetings happen back then?
- 20 A. Yes, they did. On a quarterly cadence.
- 21 Q. And did they ever get to monthly or weekly
- 22 back then?
- 23 A. I don't recollect. They may have, but I
- 24 don't recollect at this time.
- O. You -- what -- let me ask this: What

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1	kinds of people are you meeting with from these
2	social media platforms? Is this members of the
3	trust and safety teams of these platforms?
4	MR. SUR: Objection; vague.
5	THE WITNESS: There are typically two
6	types of people that we meet at these companies
7	and when I mean types, I mean roles. So as you
8	mentioned, one role of person that we typically
9	meet is a trust and safety or site integrity or
10	cybersecurity. Like, so a security function person
11	or team of people.
12	And then we meet with their attorneys too.
13	So typically there is a security counsel or trust
14	and safety counsel.
15	Q. BY MR. SAUER: And those trust and safety
16	and site integrity teams, they are responsible for
17	defending those platforms from kind of hacking
18	attempts and things like that, right?
19	MR. SUR: Objection; vague, assumes facts
20	not in evidence.
21	THE WITNESS: That is my understanding.
22	Q. BY MR. SAUER: And then they are also, I
23	take it, in charge of enforcing the you know,
24	the terms of service or the content modulation
25	policies at those platforms; is that right?

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1	71	mb - +	٠ ـ		
1	Α.	That	$\perp S$	ШУ	understanding.

- Q. Let me ask you this: With respect to
- 3 Facebook, who do you meet with on the trust and
- 4 safety team?
- 5 A. In what context? Specifically for the
- 6 FITF meetings?
- 7 Q. Well, let's start with those, and then
- 8 I'll ask you about other contexts. Yeah, these
- 9 sort of quarterly, monthly, then weekly cadence
- 10 meetings we have been talking about, who attends
- 11 from the kind of trust and safety or site integrity
- 12 group from Facebook?
- 13 A. From, yeah, the trust and safety side of
- 14 that house, the people that I typically meet with
- 15 are Emily Vacher, Ryan Kelly, Mike Devilotski, Mike
- 16 Torrey. The -- those are the senior-level
- 17 officials. They are either manager- or
- 18 director-level officials. And typically the --
- 19 they have investigators or analysts under them, but
- 20 that's kind of rotating and on an ad hoc basis --
- 21 on an as-needed basis. I don't recollect the names
- 22 of most of the analysts.
- Q. Do you interact with Facebook employees in
- 24 other contexts?
- 25 MR. SUR: Objection; vague.

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- 1 THE WITNESS: Yeah. The majority of my
- 2 interaction with Facebook is not in the
- 3 disinformation or malign-foreign-influence realm.
- 4 It is actually for things related to my -- to the
- 5 Cyber Branch, which are specifically cyber
- 6 investigations.
- 7 Q. BY MR. SAUER: How about Twitter? Who do
- 8 you meet with at Twitter when it relates to
- 9 disinformation and malign-foreign-influence
- 10 operations?
- 11 A. The same as with Facebook. I meet with
- 12 trust and safety/site integrity people, and then I
- 13 meet with their security counsel.
- 14 Q. And then what -- what human beings at
- 15 Twitter from the trust and safety/site integrity
- 16 group do you meet with?
- 17 A. The head of site integrity until the day
- 18 after the midterm elections that I met with was
- 19 Yoel Roth, and his senior manager is Will Newland.
- 20 But they have both told me they are no longer with
- 21 the company.
- 22 Q. Do you have any new contacts at Twitter
- 23 now?
- 24 A. I was provided their counterpart in the
- 25 Dublin, Ireland, office; and I believe his name was

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- 1 Aaron Roderick. I have only exchanged like two
- 2 emails with him.
- 3 Q. So but up until quite recently, your
- 4 principal trust and safety contacts at Twitter were
- 5 Yoel Roth and Will Newland?
- 6 A. That is correct.
- 7 Q. But they are both senior- or
- 8 management-level officials in site integrity or
- 9 trust and safety?
- 10 A. That is my understanding.
- 11 Q. Anyone else at Twitter that -- who would
- 12 participate in meetings that relate to malign
- 13 foreign influence or disinformation?
- 14 A. Yes. On the attorney side, they regularly
- 15 had several security counsels attend. And the
- 16 senior official at the time of the 2020 elections
- 17 was Angela Sherrer, but she is also no longer with
- 18 the company.
- 19 Q. Okay. And then how about Google, who do
- 20 you -- or who do you meet with at Google about
- 21 disinformation and malign-foreign-influence
- 22 activities?
- 23 A. On the site integrity/trust and safety
- 24 side, the senior director of that group is Shane
- 25 Huntley.

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- 1 Q. Anyone else besides -- is that a
- 2 Mr. Huntley?
- 3 A. Yeah. Mr. Shane Huntley.
- 4 Q. And then is there anyone else at Google
- 5 who you meet with?
- 6 A. Yes. Up until recently, I would say
- 7 earlier this year, the senior attorney that we met
- 8 with was Richard Salgado, but he has since retired.
- 9 Q. Anyone else besides those two individuals?
- 10 A. Those are the two senior officials. The
- other officials that I would meet with regularly on
- 12 the attorney side include Harold Chun and Mike
- 13 Maffei.
- 14 O. Sure.
- 15 A. But I believe both of them are senior
- 16 security counsels.
- 17 Q. How about Yahoo!, who do you meet with on
- 18 the site integrity or trust and safety side from
- 19 Yahoo! as it relates to malign foreign influence
- 20 and disinformation?
- 21 A. The head of the group that we met with --
- 22 they are colloquially known as "The Paranoids" --
- 23 is named Chris Kieft.
- Q. Why are they called "The Paranoids"?
- 25 A. I believe it was -- I'm not sure, but I

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- 1 believe it was a previous chief information
- 2 security officer who said that it was the job of
- 3 his team to be paranoid in order to protect their
- 4 platform.
- 5 Q. Are they paranoid in your view?
- 6 MR. SUR: Objection; calls for
- 7 speculation.
- 8 THE WITNESS: They are very good people to
- 9 work with.
- 10 Q. BY MR. SAUER: I'm sorry. Tell me their
- 11 names again?
- 12 A. Chris Kieft is the director of that group,
- 13 and then the senior manager is Suruchi Chen.
- 14 Q. Is there anyone else on the trust and
- safety/site integrity side from Yahoo! that you
- 16 meet with?
- 17 A. There are different investigators that
- 18 they will have briefing different things, but I
- 19 don't recollect any of their names at this time.
- Q. Okay. And then how about Reddit, who do
- 21 you meet with from Reddit on the site
- 22 integrity/trust and safety side as it relates to
- 23 disinformation or malign foreign influence?
- 24 A. His name is Tyler Otto. He is the head of
- 25 data sciences at Reddit.

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1	Q. Anyone else at Reddit who you meet with
2	about those topics?
3	A. Yes. The his senior manager is named
4	Aylea Baldwin.
5	Q. Is that A-l-i-a?
6	A. A-y-l-e-a.
7	Q. All these officials you have talked about
8	from these various social media platforms
9	Facebook, Google, Twitter, Yahoo!, Reddit these
10	are all people that would have authority over
11	enforcing terms of service at their respective
12	platforms, correct?
13	MR. SUR: Objection; mischaracterizes the
14	testimony and calls for speculation.
15	THE WITNESS: That is my understanding. I
16	don't know if they have the authority, but they
17	will at least inform the decision-makers, whoever
18	they may be.
19	Q. BY MR. SAUER: But they'd be directly
20	involved in the enforcement of terms of service for
21	these various platforms; is that fair to say?
22	A. That is my understanding.
23	Q. And that includes, of course, content
24	modulation of content on the platforms, right?
25	MR. SUR: Objection; vague, calls for

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1	speculation.
2	THE WITNESS: That is my understanding.
3	Q. BY MR. SAUER: Turning back to your
4	thesis, you talk about (as read) "being in the
5	trenches with you as you worked to protect the 2020
6	elections." Were there any other steps you took in
7	the trenches other than those these, I guess,
8	information sharing meetings you have described
9	with those, I think, seven platforms?
10	MR. SUR: Objection; vague.
11	THE WITNESS: Yes. One of the things that
12	I did more frequently was San FBI San
13	Francisco's territory includes 16 counties. So I
14	provided them, the county registrar or county
15	clerk's offices, their information security
16	personnel, with monthly cybersecurity updates and
17	guidance.
18	Q. BY MR. SAUER: And so that would involve
19	advising county clerks and registrars how to fend
20	off hacking attempts?
21	A. Yes. I would I would share indicators
22	with them I would share the same type of
23	information that I shared with social media
24	companies, to a more limited extent. I would share
25	strategic information about what we saw

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- 1 foreign-state-sponsored actors doing.
- 2 And then where appropriate, we would share
- 3 indicators with companies, but these were not --
- 4 these would primarily be IP addresses and domain
- 5 names so that they could see if they were popping
- 6 up anywhere on their networks.
- 7 Q. I am going to jump ahead in your thesis to
- 8 Page 17 of the main text.
- 9 MR. SAUER: And Indraneel, if you're --
- 10 are you following along on your iPad?
- 11 MR. SUR: I am trying, yes.
- MR. SAUER: I think this is going to be
- 13 Page 41 of -- Page 41 of the -- of the PDF.
- 14 Q. Agent Chan, can you see the screen share
- in front of you well? I have made it a little
- smaller to make it easier for me to read.
- 17 A. Yeah. I can see the -- there's part of
- 18 one paragraph and the beginning of a second
- 19 paragraph.
- Q. Can you see there that there's -- you
- 21 refer to "DiResta" there at the top of the page?
- 22 Do you see what I've highlighted?
- 23 A. Correct.
- Q. Who is DiResta?
- 25 A. Renée DiResta is a researcher at the

Page 52

- 1 Stanford Internet Observatory.
- Q. And -- and so do you know her personally?
- 3 A. I have engaged with her on phone calls.
- 4 Q. What were the nature of those phone calls?
- 5 A. The nature of these phone calls were
- 6 actually related to threats being directed at her
- 7 as well as about Russian disinformation.
- 8 Q. Okay. And you -- threats being directed
- 9 at her, you mean someone had personally made
- 10 threats at her, and you were, as an FBI agent,
- 11 relating them back with her; is that fair to say?
- 12 A. That is -- that is correct. And the
- 13 threats would be --
- 14 Q. And were the threats -- I don't want to --
- 15 A. The threats were --
- 16 Q. Go ahead. Sorry. I didn't mean to
- interrupt you.
- 18 A. The threats were of an online nature that
- 19 were -- that she was concerned may be
- 20 state-sponsored in nature.
- Q. Oh, okay. Okay. And that -- what -- and
- then what was the second thing that you said that
- you were engaged with her on?
- A. A lot of conversations about Russian
- 25 disinformation.

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1	Q. Yeah. What did you say to each other
2	about Russian disinformation?
3	A. I was mostly listening, but and I would
4	ask her for her thoughts about what she was seeing
5	from the Internet Observatory.
6	Q. Did you have these conversations in
7	connection with writing your thesis, or was it in
8	connection with your work as an FBI agent in the
9	field?
10	A. It was connected to my work as an FBI
11	agent in the field.
12	Q. When did you talk to Renée DiResta?
13	A. I want to say maybe in 2019.
14	Q. Would that be the only time?
15	A. Yeah. I can only recollect two phone
16	calls that I had with with her.
17	Q. And those would have been in 2019?
18	A. Yes.
19	Q. Do you know why you called her?
20	A. She called me on the first call to
21	Q. Why did she call you?
22	A. To she had been given my contact
23	information by the head of the Stanford Internet
24	Observatory, and she was concerned about Russian
25	actors either providing her or giving her

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- 1 online threats or potentially slotting her.
- Q. Okay. Who is the head of the Stanford
- 3 Internet Observatory?
- 4 A. Alex Stamos.
- 5 Q. Do you know Mr. Stamos?
- 6 A. I do.
- 7 Q. How do you know him?
- 8 A. I know him from his time as the chief
- 9 security officer for Facebook.
- 10 Q. And was he one of the Facebook officials
- 11 that you interacted with in your professional
- 12 capacity as an FBI agent when he was there?
- 13 A. Yeah, when he was there, but he was not --
- 14 he left before the 2020 election cycle.
- 15 Q. Was he involved in any of the meetings
- 16 you've talked about where malign-foreign-influence
- 17 activities were discussed?
- 18 A. He was involved in a few, but he left it
- 19 to the people that I mentioned who reported to him.
- 20 Q. So when did he leave Facebook?
- 21 A. I can't remember, but it was ahead of the
- 22 2020 election cycle.
- Q. So -- do you think he would have left
- 24 before 2020 began or during 2020?
- 25 A. I think he left well before 2020. I think

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- 1 he left after the midterms, but I can't remember.
- Q. You mean the 2018 midterms?
- 3 A. I'm sorry. Yeah. The 2018 midterm
- 4 elections.
- 5 Q. Okay. Have you had any discussions with
- 6 Mr. Stamos since he left Facebook?
- 7 A. Yes. But not about Russian
- 8 disinformation.
- 9 Q. Generally what have they been about?
- 10 A. Cybersecurity and trust and safety.
- 11 Q. What is trust and safety?
- 12 A. Trust and safety is protecting platforms
- 13 from hacking and -- yeah, I -- primarily hacking.
- 14 Q. Have you had any discussions with him
- about protecting platforms from, you know,
- 16 malign-foreign-influence activities?
- 17 A. No.
- 18 **Q. No?**
- 19 A. Not since -- not since the -- you know,
- 20 before the 2018 midterm elections. Not in his
- 21 current capacity at the Stanford Internet
- 22 Observatory.
- 23 Q. Lower down on the page you see I have
- 24 highlighted a reference to Professor Kate Starbird.
- 25 Do you see that?

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1	Α.	Yes.	

- Q. Do you know Kate Starbird?
- 3 A. I do not know her personally.
- 4 Q. Have you ever talked to her to your
- 5 recollection?
- 6 A. I have never talked to her.
- Q. Okay. So you're -- you only -- you only
- 8 reference her research in your thesis, but you have
- 9 never talked to her?
- 10 A. That is correct.
- 11 Q. Are you familiar with the Stanford
- 12 Internet Observatory and the University of
- 13 Washington teaming up on something called the
- 14 "Election Integrity Partnership"?
- 15 A. I am generally aware of that.
- 16 Q. Okay. What do you know about the Election
- 17 Integrity Partnership? What is it, if you know?
- 18 MR. SUR: Objection; vague.
- 19 THE WITNESS: My knowledge is just
- 20 general. So I knew they partnered on election
- 21 integrity and I knew that there was research
- involved, but that's the extent of my knowledge.
- Q. BY MR. SAUER: How do you know that?
- 24 A. I think I read it somewhere in a news
- 25 article.

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- 1 Q. Have you ever talked to anyone involved in
- 2 the Election Integrity Partnership?
- A. Not that I'm aware of.
- 4 Q. Did you have any involvement in it?
- 5 A. No. I would have known. So no, not that
- 6 I'm aware of.
- 7 Q. How about any other federal agencies, are
- 8 you aware of them being involved or working with
- 9 the Election Integrity Partnership?
- 10 A. I am not aware of any other federal
- 11 agencies.
- 12 Q. And then would that include the FBI? Do
- 13 you know if the FBI has had or if it is involved in
- 14 any way with the Election Integrity Partnership?
- 15 A. I do not have any knowledge of that.
- 16 However, I know that my colleagues at FBI
- 17 headquarters regularly meet with researchers much
- 18 more frequently than I do.
- 19 Q. So is it possible that your colleagues at
- 20 FBI headquarters meet with Alex Stamos?
- 21 MR. SUR: Objection; calls for
- 22 speculation.
- 23 Q. BY MR. SAUER: If you know.
- A. Not to my knowledge, because since Alex
- 25 Stamos is at Stanford and Stanford is located in

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- 1 FBI San Francisco's territory, it is common
- 2 courtesy to ask the field office to broker the
- 3 meeting or to at least make them aware that they
- 4 are coming into the territory. So I am not aware
- 5 of any of them meeting with Alex Stamos.
- 6 O. What researchers out there in California
- 7 are you aware that they have met with other than
- 8 Mr. Stamos?
- 9 A. I am aware that they have at least had
- 10 discussions with a researcher at University of
- 11 California at Berkeley, Professor Hany Farid.
- 12 Q. How do you spell that?
- 13 A. H-a-n-i [verbatim]; and I believe his last
- 14 name is F-a-r-e-e-d, but it could be F-a-r-i-d. I
- 15 am not sure.
- 16 Q. Any other researchers you are aware of
- 17 them meeting with?
- 18 A. That's the only one in my territory that I
- 19 am aware of them meeting with.
- Q. How about Kate Starbird, do you know if
- they've ever met with her at FBI headquarters?
- 22 A. I am not aware.
- Q. I want to jump ahead in your thesis to
- 24 **Page 25.**
- MR. SAUER: And, Indraneel, it is Page 49

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- 1 in the PDF.
- Q. Earlier, Agent Chan, you testified that
- 3 there is kind of two kinds of Russian influence
- 4 operations that you discussed in the thesis. I
- 5 think you referred to hack-and-dump operations,
- 6 right?
- 7 A. That's correct.
- 8 Q. And that's a -- a reference to hackers
- 9 reaching into a computer network, stealing data and
- 10 then kind of publicizing it, right?
- 11 A. Yeah, that's correct.
- 12 Q. And then here you also refer to "attempted
- 13 hacks on the" -- "the actual voting systems," but
- 14 you say that that's not the focus of your thesis,
- 15 right?
- 16 A. Yeah, that is correct.
- 17 Q. Then here, I think in this next paragraph,
- where you refer to "Online social media influence
- campaigns," that's what's your thesis actually
- 20 focuses on in this document, right?
- 21 A. That is correct.
- Q. Okay. At a high level, can you describe
- 23 what sorts of online social media influence
- 24 campaigns have been conducted by the Russians?
- 25 A. So broadly speaking, they have -- they --

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- 1 and when I mean "they," I mean the Internet
- 2 Research Agency and other Russian state-sponsored
- 3 actors -- have news -- have created fake social
- 4 media accounts, and they have either generated
- 5 disinformation themselves or they have amplified
- 6 existing content from current users of the social
- 7 media platforms.
- 8 Q. So they generate their own disinformation.
- 9 What does that entail?
- 10 A. So they make their own content.
- 11 Q. Okay. So can you -- can you give us a
- specific example of what that might look like?
- 13 A. Like -- like they -- they will make their
- own Facebook postings. They will -- they will copy
- other people's Facebook postings. And they will --
- 16 I mean, when I say "content," they try to find what
- 17 are the hot-button or current issues in the news
- 18 around the time frame they're looking at, and then
- 19 they will try to either generate content --
- 20 **Q.** Okay.
- 21 A. -- themselves related to that or they will
- 22 amplify existing content.
- 23 Q. Okay. So they might -- we'll say -- or
- 24 suppose there's a hot-button issue, and they will
- create some inflammatory Facebook post and push

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- 1 that out into social media, that's one thing they
- 3 A. Yes.

do?

2

- 4 Q. And I take it the goal there is they are
- 5 trying to get ordinary, real people on social
- 6 media, including Americans, to kind of interact
- 7 with or engage with that content, right?
- 8 MR. SUR: Objection; vaque, calls for
- 9 speculation.
- 10 THE WITNESS: That is my understanding, is
- 11 that in general the Russian government and the
- 12 Internet Research Agency want to sow discord in the
- 13 American online environment.
- 14 Q. BY MR. SAUER: So the goal there is to
- 15 have -- they post messages that they anticipate
- will be divisive and try and get Americans to
- 17 engage with them, right?
- 18 A. Yeah. That is my understanding.
- 19 Q. And "engagement," I take it, can mean
- 20 multiple things on a social media platform. That
- 21 might mean reading the post. That would be a form
- 22 of engagement, right?
- 23 A. Yes, sir. Yeah. The -- so the
- 24 companies -- I use the companies' definition. And
- 25 when they say "engagement," they do -- they mean

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- 1 different things as well. Like you said, viewing
- 2 is one of the types of engagement. And they will
- 3 let us know, "Hey, Elvis. You shared this IP
- 4 address with us. We found these accounts, and they
- 5 had low-level engagement."
- And when I ask, "What is low-level
- 7 engagement?" they will typically characterize it
- 8 as, "Oh, there was, you know, a dozen views."
- 9 Q. Right. Whereas high-level engagement
- 10 might be a million views, right?
- 11 A. Yes.
- 12 Q. Okay. Or 100,000 views might be a
- 13 high-level engagement, fair to say?
- 14 A. Yeah. Yeah, that's fair.
- 15 Q. And then, you know, liking or disliking a
- 16 post is another kind of engagement; is that fair to
- 17 say?
- 18 A. For the Facebook and Instagram platforms
- 19 specifically.
- 20 Q. Yeah. Or -- and then doesn't Twitter have
- a kind of function that you can kind of express
- 22 approval or disapproval in that way?
- 23 A. Yeah. I believe so.
- Q. Is that -- do you know what that's called?
- 25 A. I can't remember the name for it.

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1	Q. And it's the equivalent of liking
2	something on Facebook. You could, you know, like a
3	tweet, essentially; is that fair to say?
4	MR. SUR: Objection; vague.
5	THE WITNESS: I would assess them as being
6	similar.
7	Q. BY MR. SAUER: Yeah. And then there's
8	again, and obviously reposting it is another form
9	of engagement, right?
10	A. That is correct.
11	Q. And also there's reposting it with
12	commentary as well, right?
13	A. That is correct.
14	Q. And I take it these are all forms of
15	engagement that these social media influence
16	campaigns that you are referring to in your thesis
17	are kind of designed at least they are trying to
18	get people to do that, at least regular, you know,
19	kind of not real users, not bots; the Russians are
20	trying to get people to engage on their divisive
21	content, right?
22	MR. SUR: Objection; calls for
23	speculation.
24	THE WITNESS: Yeah. So it is my opinion
25	that, you know, based on what I know, that that is

what the Russians -- Russians are attempting to do.

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- I take it from your thesis 2 BY MR. SAUER: 3 that they have met with mixed success in these 4 efforts, right? In some of their efforts they were 5 highly effective in getting high levels of those 6 kinds of engagements, whereas others it would --7 kind of fizzled; is that fair to say? Yes. I would say it was hit and miss. 9 And I think you -- in your thesis you talk Q. 10 about how in 2016 they had high, high levels of 11 success, right, because there were essentially no 12 countermeasures taken by social media platforms? 13 That is correct. Α.
- 14 And I think you cite examples of 15 situations where there are Russian-originated 16 content with hundreds of thousands or -- I think 17 you talk about millions of Americans interacting 18 with it, you know, liking it, disliking it, 19 reposting it and all that; is that fair to say? 20 MR. SUR: Objection; compound. 2.1 THE WITNESS: That is for the 2016
- Q. BY MR. SAUER: And then I take it maybe
 there was -- there was some engagement in the 2018
 and 2020 election cycles, but probably not quite as

election cycle.

2.2

1

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- much as in 2016, right? 2 That is correct. Α. 3 Ο. How would you kind of characterize the 4 levels of engagement? You know, the various forms 5 of engagement I have talked about -- reading it, 6 liking it or disliking it, reposting it or 7 reposting it with commentary -- how do those levels of engagement in general with the kind of Russian 9 malign content, what levels were those at in 2016 10 and 2018? 11 MR. SUR: Objection; compound. 12 THE WITNESS: Well, on Page 35 I give one 13 example where you can see how IRA controlled
- 15 And so -- on Page 35, you see that table, right?
- 16 So those are the types of numbers. And
- 17 then after that, you know, when we compare to 2020,

accounts and the numbers of users they reached.

it's less. 18

1

14

- 19 BY MR. SAUER: Okay. It is not --Q.
- But those are the numbers that were, you 20
- 2.1 know, provided. I think these -- I think that I
- 2.2 footnoted that it's from -- it's from the special
- 2.3 counsel's report.
- 2.4 I got you. That's from Robert Mueller's Q.
- 25 report?

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- 1 A. That is correct.
- Q. That indicates that there were really a
- 3 very high level of number of users reached from
- 4 Facebook, 126 million users reached by 2016 Russian
- 5 messages, fair to say?
- 6 A. Yes.
- 7 Q. And I take it that, you know, some subset
- 8 of those people are reading it, or at least
- 9 clicking on it to read it; is that fair to say?
- 10 A. Yeah. So the "Number of Users Reached,"
- 11 my interpretation is that is views.
- 12 **Q.** Got you.
- 13 A. Unique views, yeah.
- 14 Q. Some of them, but we just don't know how
- 15 many, but some of them would have liked it or
- 16 disliked it, fair to say?
- 17 A. Yeah, I have no idea how many would have
- 18 liked it or disliked it.
- 19 Q. And then some of them -- some may have
- 20 reposted it, right?
- 21 A. They may have, but I don't know.
- 22 Q. And then that Twitter figure shows -- what
- 23 is it -- about 1.4 million Twitter users were
- reached by these activities in 2016?
- 25 A. Yes, that is correct.

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- 1 Q. Let's -- I am going to flip back to Page
- 2 29. You've got this kind of graphic picture of --
- of Hillary Clinton with a black kind of "X" painted
- 4 on her face. Do you see that?
- 5 A. Yes.
- 6 Q. And I take it this is an example of
- 7 something that was -- it is actually
- 8 Russian-originated content kind of masquerading as
- 9 something posted by an American, right?
- 10 A. Yeah. That is an example.
- 11 Q. And this is the sort of thing that
- 12 might -- is this the sort of thing that would have
- 13 resulted in engagements by users?
- 14 MR. SUR: Objection; vague, calls for
- 15 speculation.
- THE WITNESS: Well, from this one, there
- 17 appeared to be 763 reactions.
- 18 Q. BY MR. SAUER: Do you know what
- "reactions" mean? Is that liking or disliking, or
- 20 is that something else?
- 21 A. I am not -- I am not familiar.
- 22 Q. Okay. So that might mean -- might mean
- liking or disliking, but it might also mean
- 24 reposting?
- 25 A. Yeah. I don't know.

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1	Q. So at least 763 people for this example
2	did something more than just reading it, right, or
3	viewing it?
4	MR. SUR: Objection; calls for
5	speculation.
6	THE WITNESS: Yeah. I don't know what a
7	reaction means. It could just mean viewing it, but
8	it could mean taking some further action.
9	Q. BY MR. SAUER: And the next step, 76
10	people commented on this, right?
11	A. Yes.
12	Q. And then those comments are people who
13	presumably said something, whether they agree or
14	disagree or just want to say something about this
15	kind of political ad, fair to say?
16	MR. SUR: Objection; calls for
17	speculation.
18	THE WITNESS: Yeah. I don't know what the
19	nature of the comments are, but your
20	characterization is probable.
21	Q. BY MR. SAUER: The accounts I suppose
22	you have talked about account takedowns earlier.
23	If this account that posted this ad is taken down,
24	do all those comments get taken down with it?
25	MR. SUR: Objection; calls for

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1	speculation.
2	THE WITNESS: I don't know.
3	Q. BY MR. SAUER: Oh, so you think that the
4	comments may stay up with the account gone?
5	A. I to be honest with you, I do not use
6	any social media.
7	Q. I see. So you don't know if you don't
8	know if the comments kind of remain floating out on
9	Twitter when the underlying picture of Hillary
10	Clinton with black paint on her face is taken down?
11	A. I do not know.
12	Q. Turning to the next page of your thesis,
13	Page 30, here in this Subsection a you talk about
14	"The IRA's Social Media Activities," right?
15	A. Correct.
16	Q. Okay. And the "IRA" is the "Internet
17	Research Agency," right?
18	A. In this context, correct.
19	Q. Right. Not in the Ireland separatist
20	context.
21	Just generally speaking, can you describe
22	what the IRA is in this context?
23	MR. SUR: Objection; vague.
24	THE WITNESS: So in this paragraph I
25	describe the three lines of activities that I

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- 1 observed the IRA doing in terms of malign-influence
- 2 campaigns.
- Q. BY MR. SAUER: Okay. And the first one
- 4 you say is they "made and maintained fake user
- 5 accounts and pages on social media platforms that
- 6 covered a range of political issues," right?
- 7 A. That is correct.
- Q. And that's a bit like what we have already
- 9 been talking about, where they're -- I take it they
- 10 are creating fake accounts and pages and trying to
- 11 gather American viewers to review and engage with
- 12 their content, right?
- 13 MR. SUR: Objection; vaque, calls for
- 14 speculation.
- THE WITNESS: That is my assessment, yeah.
- 16 Q. BY MR. SAUER: And it says, "For these
- accounts and pages, the IRA employees generated
- 18 organic content to ingratiate themselves with
- online communities and amplify or steer the themes
- 20 discussed in those communities," correct?
- 21 A. Yes, that is what I wrote.
- 22 Q. And they were trying to influence online
- 23 conversations involving real American citizens,
- 24 right?
- 25 A. That was my assessment and is my

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- 1 assessment.
- Q. All right. So that, I take it, would
- 3 involve the kind of active engagement that we
- 4 talked about a minute ago: not just reading what
- 5 they say, but maybe reposting it, commenting on it,
- 6 you know, and having a higher level of engagement
- 7 than just viewing it, right?
- 8 MR. SUR: Objection; compound and calls
- 9 for speculation.
- 10 THE WITNESS: That would be my
- 11 understanding.
- 12 Q. BY MR. SAUER: You go on to say,
- 13 "Second" -- and this ties back to something I think
- 14 you foreshadowed a minute ago -- "IRA employees
- used social media bots, i.e., computer programs
- which control social media accounts, to amplify
- 17 existing content," right?
- 18 A. That is correct.
- 19 Q. What is it to "amplify existing content"?
- 20 A. It is to do the things that you had
- 21 mentioned. Depending on what the social media
- 22 platform were, they include things like liking it
- 23 or reposting it.
- Q. So social media bots, those are kind of
- fake accounts, right, that don't have real human

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1	beings behind them; is that what that means?
2	A. Yes. They are controlled by computer
3	programs.
4	Q. And so and and sometimes they will
5	have, like, a fake picture so it looks like a real
6	human being; but actually it is just a computer
7	<pre>program, right?</pre>
8	A. That is correct.
9	Q. And so the social media I take it the
10	IRA-generated social media bots to go out there,
11	find the divisive messages that the IRA wanted to
12	sort of amplify, and have them engage with those
13	posts, correct?
14	MR. SUR: Objection; compound, calls for
15	speculation.
16	THE WITNESS: I wouldn't say they
17	generated the bots. In general, people rent bots.
18	Q. BY MR. SAUER: That's interesting. How do
19	you rent a bot?
20	A. In the cybersecurity industry, there is a
21	role called a bot herder, so someone who develops
22	malicious software and finds unprotected devices
23	and infects them with malicious software, also

known as malware; and then they will advertise on

the dark web that, you know, you can rent a botnet

24

25

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- 1 for -- you know, a botnet of a certain size for a
- 2 certain amount of money.
- 3 And that is what I am assessing the
- 4 Internet Research Agency did.
- 5 Q. Got you. Okay. So do you know for sure
- 6 whether they generated their own or bought them on
- 7 the dark web or rented them?
- 8 A. So I'm not -- I'm not sure how they
- 9 acquired them. I was just -- I didn't feel
- 10 comfortable saying they generated their own.
- 11 Somehow they were able to get control of a botnet
- 12 and then use them to amplify.
- Q. And then "amplify," I take it that means
- 14 things like liking and reposting and taking steps
- 15 like that that make it -- is that fair to say?
- 16 It's liking, reposting, stuff like that; is that
- 17 right?
- 18 MR. SUR: Objection; vague, calls for
- 19 speculation.
- THE WITNESS: Yeah. That would be my
- 21 assessment.
- Q. BY MR. SAUER: Okay. And so I take it the
- 23 Russian bots go out there and they find the
- 24 divisive messages that the Russians want to push,
- and then they amplify them by having fake user

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- 1 accounts like them or retweet them or repost them
- on Facebook, fair to say?
- 3 A. I don't think the bots do that themselves.
- 4 The bots don't have any intelligence. I would -- I
- 5 believe that a human being, an actual Internet
- 6 Research employee would find divisive content or --
- 7 yeah, divisive content or users who had lots of
- 8 followers and then deploy the bots to amplify those
- 9 users' messages or content.
- 10 Q. And part of this, I take it, is the bots,
- 11 the fake accounts, having their own followers,
- trying to collect their own real followers, right?
- 13 A. In my experience, the bots typically don't
- 14 care how many followers they have. Their primary
- 15 job is to amplify other content.
- 16 Q. I got you. So in other words, suppose --
- and when you say "other content," this is content
- 18 that wasn't originated by Russians or the IRA but
- 19 is generated by American citizens with views that
- 20 the IRA likes or wants to push, right?
- 21 MR. SUR: Objection; vague, calls for
- 22 speculation, assumes facts not in evidence.
- 23 THE WITNESS: By "other content," I mean
- 24 content not generated by the bots.
- Q. BY MR. SAUER: And that's because the --

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- 1 A. Because bots -- yeah. Bots will generate
- 2 their own content, but they're -- it is usually
- 3 nonsense talk or just, like, random images. The --
- 4 that's what I meant by "other."
- 5 Q. Right. And then -- I think that -- and
- 6 that's what you referred to in the previous
- 7 sentence as "organic content," right?
- 8 A. Yeah. "Organic content," I mean that it
- 9 is actually generated by Internet Research Agency
- 10 employees.
- 11 Q. Oh, okay. So "existing content" in this
- 12 sentence that I have highlighted is different than
- 13 "organic content." "Existing content" is stuff
- 14 that is already out there on the social media
- 15 platforms; is it fair to say?
- 16 A. That is correct.
- 17 Q. That would be stuff that can be posted by
- 18 other users or come from any other source, but it
- 19 is just stuff --
- 20 A. Yeah.
- 21 Q. -- that they like and they want to push
- 22 those messages, right?
- MR. SUR: Objection; vague, compound.
- THE WITNESS: Yes. I mean not generated
- 25 by the Internet Research Agency. That is what I

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- 1 mean by "other content."
- Q. BY MR. SAUER: If a bot that's operated by
- 3 the Internet Research Agency were to repost, like,
- 4 a -- an American citizen's tweets or Facebook page
- 5 and then that bot account were taken down or shut
- 6 off, would that reposting or amplification of that
- 7 message then go away?
- 8 MR. SUR: Objection; compound and
- 9 hypothetical.
- 10 Q. BY MR. SAUER: If you know.
- 11 A. I don't know.
- 12 Q. Now, then suppose there's John Smith, who
- is an American citizen who posts an aggressive,
- 14 pro-Second Amendment message. And the Russian bot
- 15 identifies that as something to amplify and
- 16 retweets it, and then the Russian bot account is
- 17 shut down. There's an account takedown. Does that
- 18 retweeting of John Smith's pro-Second Amendment
- message go away from Twitter if there's no account
- 20 there anymore to retweet it?
- 21 MR. SUR: Objection; hypothetical, calls
- 22 for speculation, assumes facts not in evidence.
- 23 Q. BY MR. SAUER: If you know.
- 24 A. Yeah. I don't know. I don't know what
- 25 happens to the retweet.

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1	MR. SUR: Counsel, if I may, are we at a
2	near or natural breaking point? We have been in
3	this session for now approaching one hour and a
4	little bit past that. Why don't we take a break
5	if
6	MR. SAUER: Yeah. That's now is as
7	good a time as any.
8	MR. SUR: Thank you.
9	THE VIDEOGRAPHER: Off the record off
10	the record at 10:45 a.m.
11	(Whereupon a recess was taken.)
12	THE VIDEOGRAPHER: Back on record at 10:58
13	a.m.
14	Q. BY MR. SAUER: Agent Chan, sticking to
15	Page 30 of your thesis, I want to direct your
16	attention to this next sentence, where you say (as
17	read), "Third, IRA employees covertly purchased
18	online advertisements from social media companies
19	to enhance their organic content and drive online
20	traffic to the sites controlled by them," right?
21	A. Yeah. That is what I wrote.
22	Q. Yeah. And you agree with it, right?
23	A. Yes. You will see the footnote that it
24	was by Professor Howard, but I agree with it.
25	Q. Okay. And then so the idea is the that

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- 1 they would purchase ads that would drive traffic by
- 2 real people to their -- their sites, basically
- 3 their accounts and their websites as well, right?
- 4 A. Yes. This is in the 2016 election
- 5 contest.
- 6 Q. Okay. So why do you say -- did something
- 7 different happen in 2018 and 2020?
- 8 A. Yes. From my meetings with the companies,
- 9 they shared with me that they had changed their
- 10 policies to do more intensive validation of people
- 11 trying to purchase political advertisements.
- 12 Q. And so it was harder for them to buy ads
- 13 basically in the later election cycles?
- 14 A. That is my understanding.
- 15 Q. But either way, the purpose here is for
- 16 them to be driving or achieving engagement by real
- 17 users, right?
- 18 MR. SUR: Objection; vague, calls for
- 19 speculation.
- THE WITNESS: Yes. I believe the purpose
- 21 was for the Internet Research Agency, who are
- 22 comprised of Russian citizens, to drive engagement.
- Q. BY MR. SAUER: Got you. And if you skip
- 24 ahead a couple more pages, to Page 32, do you see
- 25 these ads that you've identified in your thesis in

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- 1 Figure 3 and Figure 4?
- 2 A. Yes, I see those ads.
- Q. Okay. And these are, I take it -- you
- 4 talk about how they have, like, left-wing content
- 5 that's actually designed to -- to depress voter
- 6 turnout among minority communities, right?
- 7 A. This was what the research that I reviewed
- 8 said.
- 9 Q. Yeah. And you look at Figure 3 -- well,
- 10 let me ask you this. You talk about the research
- 11 you reviewed. You also are personally involved in
- this, quote, in the trenches, right?
- MR. SUR: Objection; vague, misstates the
- 14 record.
- 15 THE WITNESS: Can you clarify that
- 16 question?
- O. BY MR. SAUER: Let me ask this: Is the
- 18 research -- you said this is what your research
- 19 indicated. Is the research in your thesis
- 20 consistent with your experience as an FBI agent who
- 21 deals with disinformation and
- 22 malign-foreign-influence campaigns?
- 23 A. So the research, to include this reporting
- 24 from the House Permanent Select Committee on
- 25 Intelligence as well as what was conveyed to me by

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- 1 the social media companies, was this content. I
- 2 would otherwise not know because -- I mentioned to
- 3 you I do not go on any social media platforms
- 4 myself.
- 5 Q. So but your understanding, for example, is
- 6 Figure 3 is Russian-originated content. Your
- 7 understanding of that is based on information
- 8 obtained from the social media platforms or from
- 9 other federal government officials, correct?
- 10 A. Yeah. This information is specifically
- 11 from the HPSCI report that I cited in the footnote.
- 12 Q. Got you. And just looking at this, for
- example, in Figure 3 on the right, there's a Black
- 14 Matters ad, correct?
- 15 A. Yeah. "Figure 3. Facebook Political Ads
- 16 Targeting Black voters."
- Q. And that one indicates that 223,799 people
- 18 had liked it, right, on Facebook?
- 19 A. Yes. That is what the image on the right
- 20 says.
- Q. And so that would be a high level of
- 22 engagement based on what you said earlier, right?
- 23 A. I would not consider 223 views as being
- 24 high.
- 25 Q. Oh, is it 223,799?

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1 A. No. This one, the I see "223," and
2 then I see a slash, "99 people like this."
Q. Oh, is that what that means? I thought
4 that was a "7." So you say what is do you
5 know how do you read that? What does that mean?
6 A. Yeah. I read that as 223 viewed it and 99
7 of those 223 like it. That is how I interpret
8 this.
9 Q. So that would be a low level of
10 engagement, correct?
11 A. That is how I would personally
12 characterize it.
Q. And then below there, in Figure 4 there's
14 a Secured Borders ad on the left with a "No
15 Invaders Allowed" sign in front of the border. Do
16 you see that one?
17 A. Yes.
18 Q. In that one, it looks like 134,943 people
19 liked that, correct?
20 A. Yes.
Q. And if that ad were taken down because it
was identified to be part of a
23 malign-foreign-influence campaign, all those likes

MR. SUR: Objection; calls for

24 would disappear from Facebook as well, correct?

25

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- 1 speculation, assumes facts not in evidence.
- THE WITNESS: Yeah. I do not know what
- 3 happens to the likes if the ad disappears, but I
- 4 know that the ad disappears.
- 5 Q. BY MR. SAUER: Right. You think that
- 6 likes may stay out there, floating in -- floating
- 7 in the social media platform, not addressing
- 8 anything that's still there?
- 9 A. I don't know.
- 10 Q. Let me ask this: A like is a way of
- 11 expressing --
- 12 A. I don't know what happens.
- 13 Q. A like is a way of expressing approval of
- 14 something, right? It's basically saying "I agree
- 15 with this" or "I like it," right?
- 16 A. Yes. But I don't -- what I'm saying to
- 17 you, Mr. Sauer, is I don't know what happens to
- 18 those likes.
- 19 Q. The -- but you know that the ad
- 20 disappears?
- 21 A. Well, for example, if you're -- if you're
- 22 a -- if you're a user --
- 23 (Discussion off the record.)
- 24 MR. SUR: Sorry. We are having difficulty
- 25 hearing you, Mr. Sauer. It may be a connection

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1 problem.
2 (Discussion off the record.)
3 MR. SAUER: Can you hear me now?
4 MR. SUR: Yeah, that's better.
5 Q. BY MR. SAUER: Okay. Go ahead, Mr. Chan.
6 MR. SUR: Okay.
7 THE WITNESS: So I don't know what
8 happens. So, for example, if you were a user and
9 you like this ad, I don't know, does it stay on
10 your account? Or I don't know if it disappears
11 from your account. I don't know what happens on
12 the ad itself. So I don't know. I don't know
13 the I don't know the mechanics of how online
14 advertisements for these platforms work.
Q. BY MR. SAUER: If you look at the ad to
16 the right of that, the pro-Second Amendment ad that
17 says "Defend the 2nd"?
18 A. Yeah.
Q. And do you see at the bottom it says,
20 "96,678 people like this"?
21 A. Yes.
Q. Would that be a high level of engagement?
23 A. I would characterize that as high.
Q. And it's your testimony that you don't
25 know what happens if that ad is pulled down to all

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1	those	likes?
	uiose	TTY62;

- 2 A. And then --
- 3 Q. Do you think it is going to continue to be
- 4 in people's individual feeds?
- 5 A. Yeah, I do not know what happens to the
- 6 likes.
- 7 Q. Jumping ahead a couple pages, I think this
- 8 is the page that you referred to earlier. You
- 9 talked about how there was a very high level of
- engagement by the IRA in -- in 2016, right?
- 11 A. Yes. Where it says, "The sheer magnitude
- of the IRA's social media campaign," that sentence?
- Q. Correct, yeah.
- 14 A. Yeah, yes, that is what I wrote.
- MR. SUR: To clarify for the record, this
- 16 is on Page 34 of the thesis?
- 17 MR. SAUER: Yeah. That would be Page 58
- 18 of the PDF. Indraneel, do you see where we are?
- MR. SUR: Yes, yeah.
- Q. BY MR. SAUER: It's the bottom paragraph
- there. "The sheer magnitude of the IRA's social
- 22 media campaign targeting the United States was
- unparalleled in the digital age," right, Mr. Chan?
- 24 A. That was my characterization of it.
- 25 Q. And it -- the research indicated that the

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- 1 IRA had uploaded a thousand videos on YouTube. Do
- you know what the level of engagement for those
- 3 videos was?
- 4 A. I don't. And you can see from the
- 5 citation that I am citing research done by Renée
- 6 DiResta and her team.
- 7 Q. Got you. And that research indicates that
- 8 the IRA had, quote, reached a significant number of
- 9 American users: 59 percent on Facebook, 19 percent
- 10 on Instagram and two percent on Twitter, right?
- 11 A. That is what Renée DiResta and her team
- 12 found.
- 13 Q. So 59 percent. And this isn't just sort
- of bots, she found that specifically as to American
- users, in other words, real social media platform
- 16 human beings, real people using social media
- 17 platforms in America, right?
- 18 A. That is what I recollect. And this is in
- 19 the context of the 2016 elections.
- 20 Q. Correct. And that -- that's 59 percent of
- 21 Americans on Facebook were reached in some way, had
- 22 some level of engagement with -- with
- 23 IRA-originated content; fair to say?
- 24 A. That is her calculation.
- 25 Q. And you cite it as a reputable source in

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- 1 your thesis, right?
- 2 A. Yes, I do.
- 3 Q. And do you know how much of that is --
- 4 obviously we talked earlier how there's different
- 5 kinds of engagement, like reading, liking,
- 6 reposting, reposting with commentary, commenting.
- 7 Do you know how much of that is -- that reaching of
- 8 American users breaks down into those various
- 9 categories?
- 10 A. I do not. I was not able to find that
- 11 level of detail.
- 12 Q. Okay. Next page. You've referred to
- 13 Table 1 before on Page 35 that points out that 126
- 14 million --
- 15 A. Yeah.
- 16 Q. -- American Facebook users were reached in
- some way by content, right?
- 18 A. Yes, yeah. I was able to extract that
- 19 from the report.
- Q. Right below that you refer again to "the
- second line of effort," where they (as read)
- 22 "amplified real user accounts whose identities,
- 23 behavior, and content aligned with their strategic
- 24 goals," right?
- 25 A. So yes. You can see I cited the Mueller

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- 1 report. That's special counsel's report.
- 2 Q. And then you go on to cite a Clemson
- 3 University study indicating that over 100,000 real
- 4 people had their postings amplified by
- 5 IRA-controlled social media bots, right?
- A. Yes, that is correct.
- 7 Q. And you don't know what happens to those
- 8 amplifications when the bots are detected and shut
- 9 down?
- 10 A. I do not.
- 11 Q. I think in the thesis you talk generally
- 12 about how there was virtually no reaction by the
- social media platforms in the 2016 election cycle
- 14 to this Russian activity; is that right?
- 15 A. That is correct.
- 16 Q. But that changed, I take it, in the 2018
- and 2020 election cycles, at least to some degree?
- 18 A. That is correct, yes.
- 19 Q. How did it change?
- 20 A. Well, what I was told -- what I was told
- 21 by the companies was that they used both technology
- 22 as well as human beings to moderate or protect
- 23 their platforms.
- Q. Okay. And then can you break down that
- 25 for me? On the technological side, what did they

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- 2 A. So they tell me that they used a different
- 3 detection method. The shorthand for that is
- 4 algorithms. But they will not get into any of the
- 5 details about the algorithms. And we have probed
- 6 them to ask for details, but it has never been
- 7 shared with us.
- 8 Q. What -- you say you probed them to ask
- 9 about the details. What did you ask?
- 10 A. I can't remember exactly, but we would
- 11 ask, for example, "What are the parameters that you
- 12 use to develop the algorithm? Or what are the
- 13 factors that you use?" And they would not share
- 14 any of that information with us.
- 15 Q. Why did you want to know that? Did you
- 16 want to know -- did you want to ascertain if the
- 17 algorithms were effective? Or why would you ask
- 18 them a question like that?
- 19 A. The reason that I would ask that question
- 20 is so that we could make sure that we were sharing
- 21 the most effective and actionable type of
- 22 information with them.
- Q. Explain that to me. What -- if you know
- 24 how their algorithm operates, how does that help
- you share actionable information?

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- 1 Α. So, for example, if a platform doesn't need a telephone number for an account, then 2 3 providing them with Russian telephone numbers would 4 not be useful. Or if providing them with an email 5 account is not something that the platform saves, 6 then that would not be useful. So those are two 7 examples. 8 Q. Uh-huh. But they just tell you, "We use 9 algorithms to detect kind of Russian-originated 10 content," but they tell you nothing about how the 11 algorithms operate? That is correct. 12 Α. 13 Q. When did these conversations occur? 14 Did -- where you're asking them about their 15 algorithms and they are declining to provide 16 information. Did they occur in those weekly, 17 monthly and quarterly meetings we talked about 18 earlier? 19 I would characterize it as occurring early Α. 20 in those quarterly meetings in the 2017 time frame;
 - Q. And then you mentioned human -- I think

those earlier meetings, we stopped asking.

and after we asked the different companies and

found that none of them were willing to share in

you mentioned human beings involved in their -- in

2.1

2.2

23

Page 90

- 1 their activities. Tell us, what did they tell you
- 2 about that?
- 3 A. In general, what the companies tell us is
- 4 the technology or the algorithms will flag specific
- 5 content, and certain content that looks like spam
- 6 is, I believe, taken down.
- 7 However, if something is flagged that
- 8 requires a higher level of decision-making, that is
- 9 when it is sent to a content moderator.
- 10 Q. So a human being, a content moderator
- would be looking at, like, an account that was
- 12 flagged by an algorithm as potentially involving
- 13 malign, inauthentic activity and take a closer look
- 14 at it?
- 15 A. That is correct.
- 16 Q. Did you discuss with them what standards
- 17 their content modulators use to -- to figure that
- 18 out, you know, how do they make their judgment
- 19 calls?
- MR. SUR: Objection; compound.
- 21 THE WITNESS: So in response to your
- 22 question, we would just broadly ask them what their
- 23 terms of service or community standards were.
- Q. BY MR. SAUER: So how do you know that
- 25 they have human beings involved in enforcing the --

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- 1 reviewing and enforcing the terms of service with
- 2 respect to particular content?
- 3 A. Through the discussions that we had at the
- 4 meetings.
- 5 Q. And what you have been saying, is this
- 6 true of all the -- all the platforms?
- 7 A. I do not know. I am specifically thinking
- 8 of two platforms that use human being content
- 9 moderators.
- 10 Q. Which two are those?
- 11 A. I am specifically thinking of Facebook and
- 12 YouTube.
- 13 Q. How about Twitter?
- 14 A. I don't know if they use human -- I have
- 15 never -- I don't recollect discussing that with
- 16 them.
- 17 Q. How about the others? You mentioned, I
- 18 think, Yahoo! and Reddit, Instagram. Do they use
- 19 human content moderators?
- 20 A. I don't recollect discussing that with
- 21 them.
- 22 Q. You mentioned their terms of service. You
- 23 know, did you ever discuss with them what their
- terms of service are or should be? Did you ever
- 25 make recommendations that they change terms of

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1	service to make them more effective in addressing
2	malign-foreign-influence activities?
3	MR. SUR: Objection; compound and vague.
4	THE WITNESS: I will answer the last part
5	of your compound question, which is no, we never
6	told the companies to modify their terms of service
7	or community standards.
8	Q. BY MR. SAUER: Do you know how they
9	developed their terms of service or community
10	standards?
11	A. Only from what they discussed with me in
12	those meetings.
13	Q. What did they say to you in those
14	meetings?
15	A. So
16	MR. SUR: Objection; vague.
17	THE WITNESS: So in those meetings, we
18	would not discuss them. We would ask them, "What
19	are your terms of service related to detecting
20	Russian troll accounts?"
21	And then they would share with us that
22	the the two terms that come up regularly are
23	"coordinated," which I interpret to mean across
24	many accounts, and "inauthentic," which means the
25	user is pretending to be someone they are not.

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- 1 And so those were the two primary
- 2 terms-of-service violations that I remember being
- 3 discussed.
- 4 O. BY MR. SAUER: What does "coordinated"
- 5 mean?
- 6 A. Like, as I mentioned before, it was
- 7 activities across multiple accounts, the -- similar
- 8 activities across multiple accounts.
- 9 Q. How does that violate terms of service?
- 10 A. So in the cybersecurity context, you will
- 11 have a botnet that will push ads, for example,
- 12 Canadian pharmacy ads, to hundreds and thousands of
- 13 users. That is coordinated behavior. That is
- 14 illegal. Because if you wanted to push ads on a
- 15 platform, typically you have to purchase online
- 16 advertising.
- 17 Q. Okay. Got you. And then what was the
- 18 second category you mentioned of provisions of
- 19 terms of service that these activities would
- 20 **violate?**
- 21 A. Inauthentic.
- Q. Yeah. And what is -- what is inauthentic?
- 23 A. Inauthentic is a user pretending to be
- 24 someone they are not.
- Q. And I take it that you got that in these

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- Russian malign-foreign-influence activities, right? 2 Α. Yes. 3 Ο. We have been talking about Russia 4 principally because that's your thesis, but do 5 other countries try and do these kinds of 6 disinformation malign operations on social media 7 platforms as well? 8 MR. SUR: Objection; vague. 9 THE WITNESS: Yes. 10 Q. BY MR. SAUER: What countries are involved 11 in them? 12 The two countries that we focus on are Α. 13 China and Iran, outside of Russia. 14 Are there any others? Ο.
- 15 Not to --Α.
- 16 MR. SUR: Objection; Counsel, we're at the
- 17 law enforcement privilege.
- 18 MR. SAUER: I am going to withdraw the
- 19 question. I don't concede the privilege applies,
- 20 but I will withdraw the question if you guys --
- 21 yeah.

1

- 2.2 Just generally speaking, you mentioned, Q.
- 2.3 say, Iran and China and, frankly, they are also
- 24 referred to in your publicly-available thesis. Are
- 25 the sorts of activities that they engage in similar

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- 1 to what Russia does, you know, in the -- the way of
- 2 generating fake accounts, generating inauthentic
- 3 content and trying to get Americans to interact
- 4 with it?
- 5 MR. SUR: Objection; vague and compound.
- THE WITNESS: In my experience, the
- 7 Chinese state-sponsored activity and the Iranian
- 8 state-sponsored activity share similarities to the
- 9 Russian state-sponsored activities.
- 10 Q. BY MR. SAUER: We were talking -- moving
- 11 back to what we were talking about a minute ago,
- you talked about how there are two general
- 13 categories of content-modulation policies --
- 14 coordinated activity and inauthentic activity --
- 15 that get cited most frequently to remove this
- 16 content; is that right?
- 17 A. In my personal experience, yes.
- 18 Q. And your personal experience is based on
- 19 these meetings and conversations with
- 20 representatives of the social media platforms,
- 21 correct?
- 22 A. That is correct. You broke up on me, but
- 23 I believe that is correct.
- Q. I'm -- I'm sorry. Again, you can't hear.
- I am hearing you fine. Can you hear me okay?

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1	
1	A. Now I can.
2	Q. Okay. Let me ask you this: Do they
3	when you have these information exchanges, you
4	provide the social media platforms with tactical
5	information, which includes you know, identifies
6	specific accounts and user or not users, but
7	specific accounts and URLs that you have concluded
8	are Russian-originated, right?
9	A. Can you repeat the question? You have
10	been breaking up on me.
11	MR. SAUER: Should we go off the record?
12	THE VIDEOGRAPHER: Off the record at 11:22
13	a.m.
14	(Whereupon a recess was taken.)
15	THE VIDEOGRAPHER: We are back on record
16	at 11:27 a.m.
17	Q. BY MR. SAUER: Agent Chan, circling back
18	to where we were a moment ago, I wanted to ask you,
19	when you have these information sharing sessions
20	with various social media platforms, you testified
21	earlier that you give them tactical information,
22	right?
23	A. Yes.
24	Q. Yeah. And tactical information includes
25	identifying specific social media accounts and URLs

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- 1 and things of that nature, right?
- 2 A. Yes.
- 3 Q. Yeah. How often has that happened? I
- 4 know in your thesis you refer to four
- 5 publicly-available instances where there was that
- 6 kind of information sharing. How often does it
- 7 happen that the FBI will give a list of specific
- 8 tactical information for the social media platforms
- 9 to consider?
- 10 MR. SUR: I am going to object on the
- 11 basis of the law enforcement privilege. And you
- 12 can answer without -- insofar as you can without
- 13 disclosing any particular investigation.
- 14 Q. BY MR. SAUER: Yeah, I don't want to know
- any particular URL, but just generally how often
- 16 does that happen?
- 17 A. I would say in general it happens between,
- 18 I don't know, one to five times per month.
- 19 Q. Okay. And then how many --
- 20 A. From different investigations.
- Q. Oh, got you. Okay. And then how -- and
- does this actually occur at these meetings we've
- 23 talked about, or are there separate communications
- 24 where you pick up the phone and call the site
- integrity people and tell them, "Here are some bad

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1	URLs"?
2	A. So
3	MR. SUR: Objection; mischaracterizes the
4	record, compound.
5	Q. BY MR. SAUER: If you know.
6	A. From my understanding of your question, we
7	will typically share information either right
8	before or after one of our quarterly meetings.
9	That is pretty standard. Otherwise we will just
10	share information from different investigations as
11	deemed appropriate by the field offices running the
12	investigations and FBI headquarters.
13	Q. So so it would be both, I take it,
14	there would be in every quarterly meeting you
15	might identify or you do identify tactical
16	information about foreign-originated URLs and user
17	accounts, correct?
18	A. I don't know if it happens at every single
19	quarterly meeting, but I would say most of them.
20	Q. And then and then apart from the
21	quarterly meetings, I think you said one to five
22	times a month there would be a communication of
23	that nature through another channel, right?
24	A. Correct. What I would typically do is
25	send an email to the recipients at the companies
I	

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- 1 and inform them that I would be using a secure file
- 2 transfer application within the FBI that is called
- 3 Teleporter. And then the reason I would send them
- 4 a heads-up email is because the Teleporter email
- 5 with a link looks like spam, so I don't want them
- 6 to think it's spam.
- Q. Okay. And that Teleporter email, if they
- 8 open it, contains tactical information for them to
- 9 consider, right?
- 10 A. The Teleporter email contains a link for
- 11 them to securely download the files from the FBI.
- 12 Q. And the files contain tactical information
- 13 that identifies malign foreign-originated URLs and
- 14 social media accounts and things like that, right?
- 15 A. Yeah, different types of indicators.
- 16 Q. When you say "different types of
- indicators," indicators, I think you said earlier,
- 18 refer to those specific URLs and social media
- 19 accounts, right?
- 20 A. Yeah. Those are two of them, but they
- 21 also apply to IP addresses, email accounts. You
- 22 had just mentioned two of the types of indicators,
- 23 but I wanted to reiterate that there are a broad
- 24 range of indicators that we share.
- 25 Q. Does that Teleporter communication explain

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- 1 and -- provide an explanation of the FBI's basis
- 2 for thinking that those are bad accounts or bad
- 3 indicators?
- 4 A. In general it will typically provide a
- 5 very short summary, maybe a sentence or two, that
- 6 will say, "We assess that these accounts are being
- 7 controlled by the Internet Research Agency, " and
- 8 then provide a list of accounts, or "We assess this
- 9 IP address is being used exclusively by the
- 10 Internet Research Agency from this time period to
- 11 that time period." That is a typical type of
- 12 information sharing.
- 13 Q. Typically how many accounts or URLs or
- 14 other indicators would be identified in a
- 15 communication like this?
- 16 A. It varies from one account or one selector
- 17 to many, like a whole spreadsheet full of them.
- 18 Q. Can you estimate -- for example, in 2022,
- 19 can you estimate how many specific indicators have
- 20 been flagged for social media companies?
- 21 A. I can't really estimate that number. I
- 22 can estimate that during 2020 I shared information
- 23 with the companies between one to five or one to
- 24 six times per month.
- Q. And you -- and they -- and there could be

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- 1 anywhere from one to a very large number, a whole
- 2 spreadsheet full of indicators that you'd be
- 3 flagging, fair to say?
- 4 A. That is fair. And when I say "large,"
- 5 maybe hundreds, but not thousands. I don't ever
- 6 recollect anything in the thousands, but maybe
- 7 hundreds.
- Q. And then -- and that happened one to five
- 9 times a month in 2020, correct?
- 10 A. Yes.
- 11 Q. How about in 2022, did it also happen that
- 12 frequently?
- 13 A. In my recollection, maybe one to four
- 14 times a month.
- 15 Q. And then there would be a similar range of
- 16 the number of indicators flagged in each incident?
- 17 A. I would say for the 2022 cycle, that we
- 18 would not have in the hundreds. At the most it
- 19 would be in the -- in the tens, in the dozens.
- Q. And do you send these out to all the
- 21 social media platforms? I think you mentioned
- seven or eight that you regularly meet with. And
- 23 do they all get these Teleporter communications
- 24 flagging bad indicators for them?
- 25 A. I would --

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1	MR. SUR: Objection; mischaracterizes the
2	record, vague.
3	THE WITNESS: I would say in general that
4	the companies I mentioned to you before would
5	receive these.
6	However, there would be some occasions
7	that it would be company-specific information that
8	we would not share across all the companies that I
9	previously mentioned.
10	Q. BY MR. SAUER: So sometimes it would
11	relate to all of them; sometimes it might be just a
12	Facebook issue or a Twitter issue or something like
13	that, fair to say?
14	A. I would say most of the time we would
15	share with that list of companies, and a few of the
16	times we would share with just one company or two
17	companies.
18	Q. Okay. Do you ask them to kind of report
19	back to you on whether they take any action on
20	those?
21	MR. SUR: Objection; vague.
22	THE WITNESS: The typical language we
23	would use is, "We would appreciate any information
24	you're able to share back with us about this
25	information and if you were to take any actions

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- 1 based on this information."
- Q. BY MR. SAUER: And do they typically
- 3 comply with that request?
- 4 MR. SUR: Objection; vague.
- 5 THE WITNESS: I would say sometimes.
- 6 Some -- I would say at every quarterly meeting we
- 7 try to follow up to ask if information we shared
- 8 has been relevant if we have not received a
- 9 response yet.
- 10 However, the companies either say they
- 11 don't have anything additional to share or they do
- 12 not find anything based on the information we
- 13 shared.
- 14 Q. BY MR. SAUER: So sometimes they'll report
- 15 back and say, "Hey, thanks for providing this
- 16 information. We've taken down some of the
- 17 accounts," or something like that? That happens
- 18 sometimes, you say?
- 19 A. That is correct. And when it happens,
- 20 we -- I will document it, and the reason for that
- 21 is because that helps us fine-tune the information
- 22 that we're sharing.
- Q. Uh-huh. And then I take it sometimes they
- 24 just -- they don't tell you what they did with it,
- 25 right?

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- 1 A. That is correct.
- Q. But then every -- I take it at every
- 3 quarterly or monthly meeting, you usually follow up
- 4 and ask them, "Hey, did you take any actions on
- 5 these reports we made," right?
- A. We try to at quarterly meetings.
- 7 Q. Right. And I take it they don't always
- 8 answer that question, fair to say?
- 9 A. They will always respond, but they will
- 10 say, "Sorry. We don't have anything to share."
- 11 Q. Okay. And do you know why they are
- 12 reluctant to tell you whether they took things down
- 13 **or not?**
- MR. SUR: Objection; vague, calls for
- 15 speculation, mischaracterizes the record.
- 16 THE WITNESS: I don't know why -- I focus
- 17 on when they do let us know about actions that
- 18 they've taken.
- 19 Q. BY MR. SAUER: When you say you focus on
- that, what do you do with that information?
- 21 A. I document it, and then I relay it back to
- 22 the field office, where it gets logged where that
- 23 information came from.
- Q. Do essentially all these communications
- 25 kind of pass through you because you are the

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1	relevant field officer in San Francisco, where
2	these companies are located?
3	A. I would say I'm one of the primary people
4	with pass-through information. However, we have
5	agents on the different cyber squads and our
6	private sector-engagement squad who also relay
7	information to the companies.
8	Q. Who are those agents who relay this kind
9	of information about a sort of problematic content
10	on their platforms to social media?
11	(Discussion off the record.)
12	(Reporter read back as requested.)
13	THE WITNESS: So the question is: Who are
14	these agents who do that? I would say for that
15	sort of information it is not specifically about,
16	quote, problematic content. It is specifically
17	about cyber investigations, which are different
18	from malign-influence investigations.
19	Q. BY MR. SAUER: Let me rephrase the
20	question. Focusing on disinformation and
21	malign-foreign-influence operations, are there any
22	other FBI officials besides yourself who are
23	involved in communicating those kinds of concerns
24	to social media platforms outside the context of
25	the quarterly meetings you've talked about?

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- 1 A. Yes. I have squad supervisors who are
- 2 GS-14-level employees who share information to the
- 3 companies as well.
- 4 MR. SUR: I'm sorry to interrupt. The
- 5 videographer is suggesting that we go off the
- 6 record for technical reasons.
- 7 THE VIDEOGRAPHER: We're off the record at
- 8 11:40 a.m.
- 9 (Whereupon a recess was taken.)
- 10 THE VIDEOGRAPHER: Back on the record at
- 11 11:43 a.m.
- 12 Q. BY MR. SAUER: Mr. Chan, I think you were
- 13 saying you have two GS-14 officials who also
- 14 communicate with social media platforms about
- disinformation, correct?
- 16 A. That is correct.
- 17 Q. Are those people who report to you in the
- 18 San Francisco office?
- 19 A. They report to me directly.
- Q. Other than those individuals, are there
- any other FBI officials who, to your knowledge,
- 22 communicate with social media platforms about
- 23 disinformation?
- 24 A. Yes. The agents on those two supervisors'
- 25 squads.

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1	Q. And I'm sorry. What are the two
2	supervisors' squads? Are they located in San
3	Francisco?
4	A. Yes, they are. They are located in the
5	San Francisco field office.
6	Q. Are those agents that also report to you
7	as the ASAC?
8	A. That is correct. They report to the
9	supervisors, who report directly to me.
10	Q. And those supervisors are the GS-14s that
11	you just talked about, right?
12	A. That is correct.
13	Q. How about outside the San Francisco field
14	office, are you aware of well, just a second.
15	How many agents are we talking about there in total
16	who engage in these communications with social
17	media platforms about disinformation from the San
18	Francisco field office?
19	A. I would say the two supervisors that I
20	already mentioned and four agents on one squad and
21	another agent on another squad.
22	Q. What kinds of communications do they have?
23	Do they just send the Teleporter links, or do they
24	get on the phone and talk to social media
25	platforms? What's the nature of their

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2	Α.	So	both	of	the	things	that	you	said.	So

- 3 they will give them a heads-up if they need to
- 4 relay information through Teleporter; and both of
- 5 those squads have active investigations where they
- 6 share unclassified, strategic-level information
- 7 with the companies.

communication?

1

- 8 Q. So they would share both strategic and
- 9 tactical information?
- 10 A. That is correct.
- 11 Q. And then would they be involved in
- 12 following up to find out if their -- the tactical
- 13 information was acted on?
- 14 A. Yes, they would.
- 15 Q. So and that might apply to you, the two
- 16 GS-14s and the six field agents on the two squads
- you referred to?
- 18 A. Yes, that is correct.
- 19 Q. Okay. Then how about outside the San
- 20 Francisco field office? Are you aware of any other
- 21 agents who -- are you aware of any other FBI
- 22 officials who communicate with social media
- 23 platforms about disinformation?
- 24 A. So I am only aware of the FBI officials or
- 25 employees who we invite to provide briefings at the

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- 1 quarterly meetings.
- Q. Okay. So that includes people who -- at
- 3 FITF in Washington, D.C.?
- 4 A. That's correct.
- 5 Q. Is Laura Dehmlow -- she's the head of
- 6 FITF, right?
- 7 A. Currently she's the section chief and head
- 8 of the FITF.
- 9 Q. And does she come to all of those
- 10 meetings?
- 11 A. I would say in the 2020 election cycle she
- 12 had not been promoted yet and she was the unit
- 13 chief for the China unit, and I would say she
- 14 attended most of those quarterly meetings.
- 15 Since she has been promoted to be the head
- of the FITF, she has not attended as frequently. I
- 17 believe she's only attended one set of meetings
- 18 this year.
- 19 Q. What level of people do attend? You know,
- what sorts of people attend those meetings?
- 21 A. So Laura Dehmlow would be the
- 22 highest-ranking FBI official to attend. She is the
- 23 SES level. I would be the second-highest-level
- 24 attendee, as a GS-15. And then everyone else would
- 25 be below my grade, ranging from GS-14s to perhaps

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- 1 GS-10 agents.
- Q. How long do these meetings last typically?
- 3 A. We like to keep a tight agenda, and so it
- 4 will typically last one hour.
- 5 Q. And about how many people would attend on
- 6 the FBI side -- or do attend on the FBI side?
- 7 A. I would say from the Foreign Influence
- 8 Task Force, between three to ten. However,
- 9 typically only one to two people from each of the
- 10 three units speaks. And then we would usually have
- 11 one field office comprised of two
- 12 representatives -- between one to three field
- offices attend. So one to two representatives from
- 14 each of those field offices.
- Q. So I can't do that math in my head, but it
- is north of ten frequently?
- 17 A. Yeah. If you do the math, it could be as
- 18 high as a dozen.
- 19 Q. And then how many people typically attend
- on the social media platform side?
- 21 A. I would say a similar amount. For the --
- 22 I'm sorry. I would say for the three larger
- 23 companies -- specifically Google/YouTube, Facebook
- 24 and Twitter -- it would be equal numbers or higher
- 25 numbers than the FBI.

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1	Q. When you provide tactical information to
2	the social media platforms in other words, lists
3	of social media accounts, URLs and other things of
4	that nature how do you verify that those
5	actually are inauthentic accounts and not actual
6	real accounts by real people?
7	MR. SUR: Objection; implicates the law
8	enforcement privilege.
9	I will ask that the witness answer only in
10	generalities without disclosing the details of any
11	particular investigation.
12	THE WITNESS: Understood.
13	So there are the FBI, as the lead law
14	enforcement agency and domestic security agency for
15	the federal government has two types of
16	authorities. One, which you're very familiar with,
17	Title 18 criminal authorities and all that
18	entails subpoenas, search warrants, 2703(d)
19	orders is one way that we acquire information
20	for investigations.
21	On the national security side, we have
22	Title 50 authorities and then the authorities from
23	the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act, from
24	the from the PATRIOT Act, from Executive Order
25	12333 that allows us to gather national security

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1	intelligence.
2	And so broadly we are able to use both
3	types of techniques to gather the intelligence that
4	we need to and then there is a in the case of
5	the national security side, there is a
6	declassification process that has to take place
7	before we are allowed to share information with the
8	social media companies.
9	Q. BY MR. SAUER: Let me ask you this: You
9 10	Q. BY MR. SAUER: Let me ask you this: You had cited an example earlier where, for example, a
10	had cited an example earlier where, for example, a
10 11	had cited an example earlier where, for example, a Teleporter message was sent with a spreadsheet with
10 11 12	had cited an example earlier where, for example, a Teleporter message was sent with a spreadsheet with hundreds of accounts back in 2020. Do you remember
10 11 12 13	had cited an example earlier where, for example, a Teleporter message was sent with a spreadsheet with hundreds of accounts back in 2020. Do you remember talking about that?

- 16 those accounts is actually an inauthentic kind of
- 17 Russian-originated account as opposed to, you know,
- 18 actually a real account of somebody who's got a
- 19 Facebook or Twitter or YouTube account?
- 20 MR. SUR: Objection; compound.
- 21 THE WITNESS: Within the U.S. intelligence
- 22 committee, as you're familiar, there are different
- 23 levels of confidence in terms of the information
- 24 that, you know, we are reviewing in a product. And
- 25 we only share information that we have high

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- 1 confidence that is attributed to a foreign-state
- 2 actor.
- Q. BY MR. SAUER: Is "high confidence" always
- 4 correct or usually correct, in your experience?
- 5 A. In my experience, it has always been
- 6 correct.
- 7 Q. So anything for the --
- 8 A. For the selectors that we are providing.
- 9 I do not remember an instance where we have
- 10 provided selectors where any of the social media
- 11 companies have said, "Elvis, this is actually
- 12 U.S.-person information."
- 13 Q. So you are not aware of ever getting
- 14 feedback from them where they said you guys
- 15 accidentally identified real users?
- 16 A. That is correct.
- Q. Do they always tell you -- let me ask you
- 18 this: How many of the ones that you flag do they
- 19 take down?
- 20 A. I couldn't even estimate that number.
- Q. How about as a percentage?
- 22 A. I couldn't even estimate. And let me --
- let me tell you part of the reason is because we
- 24 may share, for example, one account with them, but
- 25 then they may find ten connected accounts and take

all of them down. And they don't always tell us

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- when -- you know, how many accounts were taken

 down. Sometimes they will tell us. Sometimes they

 will tell us, "Thank you, Elvis. We were able to

 detect this information and took all of the

 accounts down." And when we ask for the specifics,
- Q. Right. Okay. But it sounds like
 sometimes your reports lead to more takedowns than
 the accounts you have -- you flagged, fair to say?

they don't necessarily tell us all the time.

11 A. That is correct.

1

7

- 12 Q. How confident are you that they are not, 13 you know, kind of making mistakes in taking down 14 real user accounts?
- 15 MR. SUR: Objection; calls for 16 speculation, lacks foundation.
- 17 THE WITNESS: So this is just my personal 18 opinion, obviously not based on being able to see 19 any of their data. In my experience, they take
- 20 account takedowns very seriously because this
- 21 affects their bottom line.
- So no social media company wants to take
- down a large number of accounts, because one of the
- 24 things they base their ad sales on is how many
- 25 users are on their platform. So in my opinion,

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- 1 they take it very seriously. And I would say that
- 2 to the best of their ability, they are very careful
- 3 before doing account takedowns.
- 4 Q. BY MR. SAUER: I think that ties back into
- 5 something you said earlier, which was in 2016 they
- 6 really didn't do any account takedowns, fair to
- 7 say?
- 8 A. That is correct.
- 9 Q. And it -- and I take it they may have had
- 10 a -- I -- we may be speculating here, if you know.
- 11 Do you know if that was because they have a
- 12 financial incentive to leave those accounts up
- 13 because it increases their ad revenues?
- 14 MR. SUR: Objection; calls for
- 15 speculation.
- THE WITNESS: I wouldn't even begin to
- 17 speculate. I don't know why.
- 18 Q. BY MR. SAUER: Let me ask you this: Why
- did things change, in your view? I take it in 2018
- and 2020 there were many more account takedowns,
- 21 right?
- 22 A. So there are two parts to your question.
- 23 Why do I think they did it? I can provide you with
- 24 my personal opinion.
- 25 **Q.** Okay.

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- 1 A. My -- I believe pressure from Congress,
- 2 specifically HPSCI and SSCI, may have had a part of
- 3 it.
- 4 And then also because I believe that they
- 5 felt that this may have damaged their brands, but
- 6 that is my personal opinion.
- Q. Okay. Well, let me ask you this: When
- 8 you say "pressure from Congress" and you mentioned
- 9 HPSCI and SSCI, what are HPSCI and SSCI? Are
- 10 those -- are those committees?
- 11 A. I'm sorry. HPSCI is the -- the House
- 12 Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence. And
- 13 SSCI is the Senate Select Committee on
- 14 Intelligence.
- 15 Q. Starting with the House Permanent Select
- 16 Committee on Intelligence, what kind of pressure
- did they put on the social media platforms to, you
- 18 know, engage more aggressively in account
- 19 takedowns?
- 20 A. They compelled -- I don't know if they
- 21 compelled. They requested the CEOs for the
- 22 companies that I mentioned, the -- to testify in
- 23 front of their committee.
- Q. And so they kind of brought in Mark
- 25 Zuckerberg and Jack Dorsey and Sundar Pichai and

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1	had them testify in front of Congress?
2	A. That is correct.
3	Q. And that happened that happened once or
4	it happened multiple times?
5	A. To my knowledge, that happened more than
6	once.
7	Q. And you believe that that that that
8	kind of scrutiny and public pressure from Congress,
9	in your view, motivated them to be more aggressive
10	in the account takedowns?
11	MR. SUR: Objection; lacks foundation,
12	calls for speculation.
13	THE WITNESS: That is just my personal
14	opinion.
15	Q. BY MR. SAUER: Yeah. What is the basis
16	for your opinion? Has anyone at a social media
17	platform ever made a comment to you that would
18	reflect that that view?
19	A. I would say yes. And the types of
20	comments that I have received are that staffers
21	from both of those committees have visited with
22	those companies. And while they would not reveal
23	the types of discussions that they had with these
24	House and Senate staffers, they would indicate that
25	they had to prepare very thoroughly for these types

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- 1 of meetings and that it was -- they indicated that
- 2 it felt like a lot of pressure.
- 3 Q. "They" is representatives of social media
- 4 platforms?
- 5 A. Yeah. The social media companies that
- 6 were visited.
- 7 Q. What -- what social media companies were
- visited by these HPSCI and SSCI staffers?
- 9 A. To my knowledge, it was the three
- 10 companies that I've mentioned, which include
- 11 Facebook, Google and Twitter.
- 12 Q. And Facebook, Google and -- Facebook,
- 13 Google and Twitter employees all told you that they
- 14 experienced these visits from congressional
- 15 staffers as exercising a lot of pressure on them?
- 16 A. That was how I interpreted their comments.
- 17 Q. And then you infer from that that their
- 18 changes in takedown policies resulted from that
- 19 kind of pressure from Congress?
- 20 A. That is my personal opinion.
- 21 If I can add, I think some of -- some of
- 22 what was discussed -- I'm interpreting what -- some
- 23 of what was discussed. But what the -- the
- 24 staffers would come and talk to us either before or
- 25 after they met with those three companies. And so

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- 1 what was discussed with us was legislation that
- 2 they were thinking about doing, and them asking for
- 3 our opinion.
- 4 Q. Uh-huh. When you say "legislation that
- 5 they were thinking about doing," what do you mean?
- 6 A. Legislation that either HPSCI or SSCI was
- 7 thinking about doing.
- 8 Q. So HPSCI and SSCI, these committees on
- 9 intelligence, their staffers would be communicating
- 10 to the social media platforms Facebook, Twitter and
- 11 Google or YouTube that they intended to try and
- 12 pass legislation?
- 13 A. So I inferred that because that is what
- 14 they discussed with me personally.
- 15 Q. That is what they, the social media
- 16 platforms, discussed with you, correct?
- 17 A. No, no. That is what HPSCI and SSCI
- 18 discussed with me when they were coming to these
- 19 meetings.
- Q. Oh, did you -- were you in on these
- 21 meetings? Like, were you included in the meetings
- with the congressional staffers?
- 23 A. So I and FBI San Francisco personnel would
- 24 meet with the congressional staffers, typically
- 25 before they met or after they met with the social

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- 1 media companies. And the reason for that is
- 2 because they wanted an FBI opinion about what they
- 3 had heard from the social media companies.
- 4 Q. I got you. What did they -- first of all,
- 5 when did these meetings occur? Was this in 2017,
- 6 2018, 2019, 2020? What time frame?
- 7 A. I can't recollect, but I do -- they felt
- 8 like an annual occurrence after -- after 2017.
- 9 Q. And the congressional staffers would tell
- 10 you in advance, "We're going to meet with the
- 11 social media companies and -- and tell them about
- 12 legislation we want to advance, " correct?
- 13 A. No.
- 14 Q. I'm sorry.
- 15 A. What they would say -- what they would say
- is they would tell us, "We plan to meet with these
- three companies, and what have you been doing with
- 18 these three companies?"
- And then we would share, like, the cases
- 20 or -- that we would be working on, but we would be
- 21 in a classified setting. So we would be able to
- 22 speak more freely about the types of investigations
- 23 that were the most prominent or the most active on
- 24 our side, that they were either -- their -- their
- 25 platforms were impacted at some point. That is --

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1 would be the nature of our discussion with the 2. staffers. 3 But I would not meet with the staffers and 4 the social media companies. The staffers had 5 separate meetings with each of the companies. 6 Okay. And then after those meetings, the Ο. 7 staffers would come to you and ask your opinion 8 about potential legislation? 9 Α. That is correct. 10 What sort of legislation? Q. 11 MR. SUR: I am going to object. The 12 deliberative process privilege extends not just to 13 the executive branch, but all sorts of executive 14 communications within the government. So if you can answer at a level of 15 16 generality that avoids disclosing the 17 particularities of any deliberations. If you -- if 18 you cannot, then I instruct you not to answer. 19 THE WITNESS: I cannot discuss it in 20 general terms. 2.1 Q. BY MR. SAUER: Okay. Well, let me ask you 2.2 this just generally. Did the legislation relate to 2.3 Section 230 of the Communications Decency Act? 24 MR. SUR: I am going to stand by the same

objection on the grounds of deliberative process

25

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1	privilege.
2	MR. SAUER: The deliberative process
3	privilege does not apply, quote, when there is any
4	reason to believe that government misconduct has
5	occurred. The judge by ordering this deposition
6	has already concluded there's potential First
7	Amendment violations in this case that need to be
8	explored, so the privilege does not apply.
9	MR. SUR: We are at the at the pleading
10	stage on the First Amendment violations, and the
11	judge has not ruled on any particular privilege
12	question. So I will continue to assert and ask
13	that the witness not answer the question on the
14	grounds of the deliberative process privilege.
15	Q. BY MR. SAUER: Let me ask you this: The
16	social media platforms talk to you people on the
17	social media platforms talk to you as well, right?
18	A. Yes. I talk with the social media
19	platform personnel regularly.
20	Q. And I think you'd said earlier that they
21	had kind of just made statements to you that
22	indicated that they felt that these meetings, these
23	annual meetings with congressional staffers put a
24	lot of pressure on them, right?
25	A. That was my interpretation of their

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- 1 comments. I don't recollect any of them using the
- 2 specific word "pressure," but that was how I
- 3 interpreted our conversations.
- 4 Q. What congressional staffers were involved
- 5 in these meetings?
- 6 A. They would be senior-level staffers. I'm
- 7 sorry. I can't remember any of their names. But
- 8 typically it would be -- the delegation would
- 9 include a senior-level staffer, I think a
- 10 director-level; and then one of their attorneys,
- 11 like the committee counsel or a senior counsel for
- 12 the committee; and then there would be one to two
- 13 other, like, line-level staffers.
- 14 Q. So there would be maybe three to five
- staffers total who would come to the meetings?
- 16 A. That is correct.
- 17 Q. Do you know who at the three social media
- 18 platforms you referred to attended the meetings?
- 19 A. So I was told by the staffers that they
- 20 met with Facebook, Google and Twitter.
- Q. But then you actually talked to some
- 22 people from Facebook, Google and Twitter who were
- 23 at those meetings, right?
- 24 A. Yes.
- Q. Who were they for Facebook, for starters?

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- 1 A. For Facebook, I would typically talk to
- 2 Steven Siegel. He's a -- a director on their
- 3 attorney side.
- 4 Q. Anyone else at Facebook that was involved
- 5 in the meetings with congressional staffers?
- 6 A. He would be the one that I would talk to
- 7 about that.
- 8 Q. And he -- for some --
- 9 A. That's what I recollect.
- 10 Q. And specifically he was involved in those
- 11 meetings, right?
- 12 A. He led me to believe that he was involved
- in those meetings. Probably not just him.
- 14 Q. How about -- how about Twitter, what -- do
- 15 you know who at Twitter was involved in those
- 16 meetings?
- 17 A. I would have discussions with Yoel Roth or
- 18 Angela Sherrer.
- 19 Q. How do you spell "Angela Sherrer"?
- 20 A. Angela, common spelling; Sherrer,
- S-h-e-r-r-e-r.
- 22 Q. Anyone else?
- 23 A. She is no longer -- she's no longer -- or
- 24 neither of them are at Twitter anymore.
- 25 Q. Okay. There's some turnover there?

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1	A. Yes.
2	Q. Anyone else at Twitter?
3	A. Those would be the two senior officials
4	that I am aware of.
5	Q. How about Google?
6	A. I would say in my experience it would be
7	Richard Salgado.
8	Q. Anyone else besides Richard Salgado?
9	A. I believe on some occasions Shane Huntley
10	would attend.
11	Q. Anyone else at Google?
12	A. I can't recollect at this time, but those
13	would be the two most senior officials attending
14	those types of meetings.
15	Q. Let me ask you this: Connecting these two
16	things, did you observe that after those meetings
17	where the congressional staffers came out and met
18	with Facebook, Twitter and YouTube; that Facebook,
19	Twitter and YouTube changed their practices and
20	became more active in account takedowns?
21	A. No. I would not connect those two events.
22	What I would say is after 2016 at the end of
23	2016 and the beginning of 2017, after those initial
24	congressional hearings, and even prior to those
25	congressional hearings, in my experience, the

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- 1 companies did not seem to be aware of the
- 2 activities going on on other platforms. But after
- 3 they became aware, they became much more active in
- 4 trying to combat it.
- 5 Q. I am going to pull up your thesis again,
- 6 and hopefully it won't cause audio problems. Can
- 7 you see that?
- 8 A. Can you let us know what page you're on?
- 9 Q. Yeah. This is on Page 42. See down
- 10 there, that's Page 42? And then that would be Page
- 11 66 of the PDF.
- 12 A. Okay. I can see one whole paragraph and
- 13 parts of two paragraphs.
- 14 Q. Can you see here at the top of the page
- where you refer to the "Internet Research Agency's
- influence campaign in 2016"?
- 17 A. Yes.
- 18 Q. And then you say that the "companies
- 19 allowed the IRA free rein to achieve the relevant
- 20 elements of the Kartapolov Framework" in 2016,
- 21 right?
- 22 A. Yeah. That is how I characterize that.
- Q. And that's a reference to, you know, "free
- rein," that is engaging in no takedown activity at
- 25 all, but letting the Russian inauthentic content be

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1	freely disseminated on their platforms, right?
2	A. That is correct.
3	Q. And then you go on to say, "However, later
4	on, intense pressure from U.S. lawmakers and the
5	media would eventually force the social media
6	companies to examine what had taken place on their
7	platforms and strive to ensure it did not happen in
8	the future," right?
9	A. Yeah. I wrote that. And you can see that
10	the footnote says I am referencing the HPSCI
11	"Report on Russian Active Measures."
12	Q. So you're actually referencing HPSCI, the
13	congressional committee that sent these staffers
14	out to have these meetings that we just talked
15	about, right?
16	A. That's correct.
17	O Do you still agree with that statement

- Q. Do you still agree with that statement
- 18 that (as read) "intense pressure from U.S.
- 19 lawmakers and the media forced the social media
- 20 companies to examine what had taken place and
- 21 strive to ensure it did not happen in the future"?
- 22 A. Yes. I wrote that statement, and I agree
- 23 with it.
- Q. That's a consistent approach with the
- Footnote 185 that cites the congressional reports

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- 1 as well as what you said earlier about, you know,
- 2 calling the tech CEOs in to testify in front of
- 3 Congress and these meetings out here in San
- 4 Francisco, right?
- 5 A. Yes. That is my personal opinion.
- 6 Q. Okay. I want to jump ahead to Page 46 of
- 7 your thesis. Can you still hear me?
- 8 A. Yes.
- 9 Q. Okay. Do you see here on Page 46, Page 70
- 10 of the PDF?
- 11 A. "Facebook stated it took a series of
- 12 measures"?
- 13 Q. All right.
- 14 (Discussion off the record.)
- 15 THE WITNESS: I read the first sentence of
- 16 the second paragraph.
- 17 Q. BY MR. SAUER: Right. If I could direct
- 18 your -- can you hear me now?
- 19 A. Yes.
- 20 Q. Directing your attention higher up, at the
- very top of the page, you say, "Facebook and
- 22 Twitter appeared to be the most detailed in sharing
- their changes and the most public about account
- 24 takedowns," right?
- 25 A. That is correct.

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1	Q. And "their changes," what are those? Is
2	that a reference to substantive actions and policy
3	changes to address malign foreign influence?
4	A. Yes.
5	Q. And your footnotes there I think refers to
6	changes that they actually made to their
7	
	content-modulation policies, right, their terms of
8	service?
9	A. That is correct. Whenever
10	(Discussion off the record.)
11	THE WITNESS: Okay. Can you can you
12	scroll back to the sentence you were on, Mr. Sauer?
13	Oh, I wanted to clarify that the
14	substantive actions refers to, like, the
15	technology-detection methods, right? That is one
16	of the substantive actions.
17	And then, as you mentioned, yeah, the
18	policy changes specifically to their terms of
19	service or community standards.
20	(Discussion off the record.)
21	THE WITNESS: and community or
22	community standards.
23	Q. BY MR. SAUER: Got you. So the policy
24	changes are changes the substantive changes are
25	their using algorithms to detect inauthentic

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1	content, right?
2	A. Correct. That is that is what I'm
3	referring to.
4	Q. And then these the policy changes are
5	actually changing their terms of service to make
6	things to clarify that certain things actually
7	violate their policies and can be taken down,
8	right?
9	A. Correct.
10	Q. So those are kind of more robust or more
11	aggressive content-modulation policies that they
12	have adopted in this time frame, right?
13	A. Yes.
14	Q. And you go on to say in the next page,
15	"Facebook and Twitter appeared to be the most
16	detailed in sharing their changes and the most
17	<pre>public about account takedowns," right?</pre>
18	A. That is correct.
19	Q. And the changes they shared were they
20	shared that they had both well, include the
21	policy changes, the changes to their terms of
22	service, right?
23	A. Yes. They were very public in blog posts
24	about the terms-of-service changes
25	(Discussion off the record.)

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1	THE WITNESS: is their term for it
2	(Discussion off the record.)
3	THE WITNESS: And providing reports of
4	account takedowns of foreign malign influence.
5	Q. BY MR. SAUER: So in addition to notifying
6	the FBI that they had taken stuff down, they would
7	provide a public report saying, "Hey, we took down
8	all the a certain number of accounts in the last
9	quarter"; is that what they would do?
10	A. Yes, yes.
11	Q. Okay. And you go on to say, "A possible
12	reason could be that Facebook and Twitter faced
13	more Congressional scrutiny than Google as their
14	senior executives testified before Congress on
15	three separate occasions before the midterm
16	elections"
17	A. Uh-huh.
18	Q is that right?
19	A. Yes. I do cite a news article. I
20	however, I do share the opinion of that article.
21	Q. And that's consistent with what we just
22	talked about a moment ago, which is that one way
23	that these social media platforms experience
24	pressure was Mark Zuckerberg and Jack Dorsey had to
25	go testify in front of Congress multiple times.

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- 1 And you infer from that that may have led to their
- 2 changing their terms of service to be more robust
- 3 and to prevent certain kinds of content from being
- 4 posted; fair to say?
- 5 MR. SUR: Objection; mischaracterizes the
- 6 record.
- 7 THE WITNESS: My personal opinion is that,
- 8 yeah, the -- my personal opinion is that political
- 9 pressure from Congress was a contributing factor.
- 10 Q. BY MR. SAUER: On the next page, Page 47,
- 11 you talk about there were a significant number of
- 12 takedowns, right? "In 2018, Twitter announced the
- 13 takedown of 3,613 IRA-associated accounts."
- 14 A. Yeah. I see that at the bottom of the
- 15 first paragraph on that page.
- 16 Q. Do you have any way of knowing if all of
- 17 those were actually IRA-associated or some of them
- 18 might have been authentic accounts?
- 19 A. Well, I only know what Twitter has told
- 20 us.
- 21 Q. Jumping ahead in your thesis to -- a
- 22 couple pages, to Page 49, you talk about how
- 23 something "provided politicians with the occasion
- 24 to exert pressure on the companies to make
- constructive changes to their platforms," right?

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1	A. Yeah, that was my assessment.
2	Q. Yeah. And in other words, this is, again,
3	another way of saying something we have been
4	talking about, that politicians, including members
5	of Congress, pressured the social media companies
6	to make changes to their platforms to address
7	malign foreign influence, correct?
8	A. That is correct.
9	Q. And you described it as "constructive
10	changes." So by and large you approve of the
11	policy changes and substantive actions that were
12	taken after 2016, correct?
13	MR. SUR: Objection; lacks foundation.
14	THE WITNESS: The reason I said it was
15	constructive was that it appeared the social media
16	companies were able to detect and counter
17	foreign-malign-influence operations on their
18	platforms, which I believe was constructive.
19	Q. BY MR. SAUER: And do you think it's
20	constructive that they are better equipped to
21	engage in account takedowns?
22	A. That is correct. As compared to 2016 and
23	prior.
24	Q. And you think it is a positive development
25	between 2016 and 2018 that zero accounts were taken

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- down during the 2016 cycle but 3,613 Twitter
- 2 accounts were taken down in the 2018 cycle,
- 3 correct?
- 4 A. Yeah. The higher number is better than
- 5 zero, in my estimation.
- 6 Q. Because by and large you believe that
- 7 malign-foreign-influence accounts should be taken
- 8 down from Twitter, Facebook, YouTube and so forth?
- 9 A. Yes, that is my belief.
- 10 Q. In the next paragraph of the thesis, you
- 11 talk about the Global Engagement Center. What
- 12 exactly is that?
- 13 A. So as I mentioned, it -- legislation
- 14 established the Global Engagement Center within the
- 15 State Department. And based on my understanding
- 16 and review of reporting about the GEC, they were
- 17 primarily focused originally on countering foreign
- 18 terrorist organizations' propaganda.
- 19 Q. Do you -- and then did their mission
- 20 change to address malign foreign influence?
- 21 A. I -- yeah. I would say it has now -- in
- 22 my experience, it is now including malign foreign
- 23 influence as well.
- Q. When you say your experience, do you
- 25 interact with the Global Engagement Center in your

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1	professional	role?
_	proressionar	TOTE:

- 2 A. Yeah, I -- the -- yes. Ahead of the 2020
- 3 elections, I engaged with a regional representative
- 4 who was based here in San Francisco.
- 5 Q. Who was that?
- 6 A. His name was Sam Stewart.
- 7 Q. Uh-huh. Was that Samaradun Kay Stewart?
- 8 A. Yeah. Yeah, that's his full name.
- 9 Q. What were your interactions with him?
- 10 A. I would have periodic phone calls with
- 11 him. He would meet with the social media companies
- 12 separately from me. And from what he told me, it
- 13 seemed like he primarily met with policy
- 14 individuals. I -- I rarely, if ever, meet with
- 15 policy individuals.
- 16 As I mentioned to you before, I typically
- 17 meet with the trust and safety individuals and then
- 18 their associated attorneys.
- 19 Q. Did he discuss with you the nature of the
- 20 meetings he had with the policy individuals at
- 21 social media platforms?
- 22 A. I would say only broadly. He discussed
- 23 different initiatives that they have.
- Q. Would the social media platforms --
- 25 A. And these initiatives include different

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1	types of software made by vendors that they would
2	pilot to see if they could detect malign foreign
3	influence on social media platforms. And then he
4	would also share information from State Department
5	employees who were at embassies, you know, boots on
6	the ground type of information from the embassies
7	we have around the world.
8	That is the type of information that he
9	would share with me and let me know that that was
10	the type of information that he was sharing with
11	the companies.
12	Q. That first piece of it is kind of
13	interesting because it sounds like that connects to
14	what you said earlier about the substantive actions
15	taken by the social media platforms. They adopted
16	computer programs or algorithms to try and detect
17	inauthentic foreign activity, correct?
18	A. Yes. In my estimation, they use that type
19	of technology to detect and either knock down or

22 your description, kind of offering them access to 23 the sorts of tools they might be able to use to 24 detect it, correct?

It sounds like Mr. Stewart was, based on

flag malign-foreign-influence activity.

MR. SUR: Objection; calls for 25

20

21

speculation, mischaracterizes the record.

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2	THE WITNESS: So I don't know what outside
3	vendors any of the companies, any of the social
4	media companies use.
5	I do know that the Sam Stewart from the
6	Global Engagement Center, he he would provide
7	webinars to me from these different types of
8	vendors, and then the vendors would just come in
9	and share results that they have.
10	Q. BY MR. SAUER: When you say "results," are

these vendors who prepare computer programs to

detect, you know, inauthentic activity on social

- 13 media platforms?
- Q. And you -- I take it you participated in some of his presentations, or you --

That is my understanding.

- 17 A. I would say I went to two of those 18 webinars just to see what they were like.
- 19 However, based on my viewing of those two
- 20 webinars, I did not think it was useful from a law
- 21 enforcement standpoint.
- 22 Q. And would it be more useful -- in other
- words, a more useful audience would have been the
- 24 social media platforms who might use such programs?
- MR. SUR: Objection; vague.

1

11

12

14

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1	THE WITNESS: I believe that is why Sam
2	Stewart would share that type of information. But
3	the reason I did not find it useful was because, as
4	a law enforcement agency and a domestic security
5	service, I am focused on the malign foreign actors
6	themselves and their activities. And what these
7	companies and applications did was just look at
8	the look at the content and activities from a
9	surface level.
10	So I would be concerned that that sort of
11	application might accidentally pick up U.S. people
12	information, and so that is not something that I
13	think would be useful or relevant to the FBI.
14	Q. BY MR. SAUER: And so your concern your
15	concern was that the GEC's kind of computer
16	programs that they were making available to social
17	media companies might be overinclusive and
18	misidentify authentic accounts as inauthentic
19	activity?
20	MR. SUR: Objection; lacks foundation,
21	calls for speculation, and mischaracterizes the
22	record.
23	THE WITNESS: So if I may if I may
24	respond to your question. So the State Department
25	is primarily a foreign-focus agency. And so in

their estimation -- I believe that in their

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estimation their tools would be deployed overseas, 2 3 where I believe they do not have the same type of 4 legal training that I do specifically about First 5 Amendment protections. And so, you know, they are 6 overseas in embassies and their analysts are 7 overseas in embassies, and so they don't have the same sorts of concerns that I would working at the 9 FBI is what I -- is my personal opinion. 10 Q. BY MR. SAUER: Okay. And those concerns 11 specifically is that it would raise a First 12 Amendment concern if somebody's -- a real user's

16 MR. SUR: Objection; mischaracterizes the

account got accidentally taken down because the

State Department provided a computer program that

- 17 record and calls for a legal conclusion.
- Q. BY MR. SAUER: But if -- yeah, if that
- 19 concern --

was overinclusive?

1

13

14

15

- 20 A. So I don't think the State Department was
- 21 providing these programs to the companies. I think
- 22 the State Department was just providing a venue
- 23 where different vendors could show off their
- 24 products. I don't think they endorsed or did not
- 25 endorse these products, but they provided -- and it

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1	wasn't just for the social media companies.
2	They would invite all sorts of audiences,
3	to include researchers, employees from State
4	Department counterparts, so typically Ministry of
5	Foreign Affairs. They would provide these were
6	open to the general public, but I believe the
7	audience that they were going for were State
8	Department-equivalent personnel, social media
9	companies and researchers.
10	MR. SAUER: Do you want to go off the
11	record?
12	THE WITNESS: That's just based on what
13	THE VIDEOGRAPHER: Off the record at
14	12:27.
15	(Whereupon the noon recess was
16	taken.)
17	000
18	
19	
20	
21	
22	
23	
24	
25	

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1	REMOTE VIA ZOOM, CALIFORNIA, NOVEMBER 29, 2022
2	AFTERNOON SESSION
3	000
4	THE VIDEOGRAPHER: We are back on the
5	record at 1:20 p.m.
6	Q. BY MR. SAUER: Agent Chan, I just want to
7	direct your attention back to your thesis, Exhibit
8	1, for a few more questions. Let me know if you
9	have difficulty hearing me.
10	Here I am on Page 61 of your thesis, which
11	is Page 85 of the pdf. In here you discuss the
12	case of PeaceData, which was a website, right?
13	A. Yes, that is correct.
14	Q. What exactly was PeaceData? Was that a
15	Russian-originated website?
16	A. Yes. For the 2020 election cycle, that
17	was a website created by the Internet Research
18	Agency.
19	Q. And it was intended to sow kind of
20	disinformation and discord among kind of
21	left-leaning voters in the United States, right?
22	A. Yes.
23	Q. And then here in this sentence that I am
24	highlighting you say "Third, Reuters broke a story
25	about the IRA posing as PeaceData staff to hire

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1 unwitting freelance journalists, including
2 Americans, to write articles for the site," right?
3 A. That is correct, and I cite the articles.
Q. Right. And then you go on to say that
5 "The Carnegie Endowment" "determined that at least
6 20 freelance journalists," which includes
7 Americans, "had been duped into writing articles
<pre>8 for the PeaceData outlet," right?</pre>
9 A. That is correct.
10 Q. Those articles were posted on that
11 website, right?
12 A. That is correct.
Q. Then that website, I take it, got taken
14 down as a result of the revelation that it was a
Russian mis or Russian-originated site, right?
16 A. I do not believe it was taken down. I
17 believe it was just discredited. It may I
18 haven't checked it, but it was up for a while.
Q. And this is one of those sites that you
described as achieving fairly low engagement
earlier in the deposition; is that right?
22 A. Right. That is correct.
Q. Was the FBI involved in the investigation
of the PeaceData?
MR. SUR: Objection; vague.

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1	THE WITNESS: So the FBI shared
2	information with the companies that it believed the
3	Internet Research Agency was standing up. Two
4	websites. One was PeaceData, and the other was
5	called NAEBC, which is an abbreviation for Newsroom
6	for American- and European-Based Citizens. So they
7	were supposed to be complementary news websites.
8	But we did tip the social media companies to both
9	of those sites.
10	Q. BY MR. SAUER: Did the social media
11	companies, to your knowledge, act on that
12	information and take actions to restrict social
13	media postings about those bombing those sites?
14	A. What they conveyed to me is that they
15	identified accounts that were foreign-associated,
16	so Internet Research Agency-associated, that were
17	directing users on those platforms to the PeaceData
18	website as well as the NAEBC website.
19	Q. So they identified. Did they take actions
20	against those accounts?
21	A. I believe they did.
22	Q. Okay. So this is a situation where the
23	in the 2020 election cycle the tactics have evolved
24	and the Russians have now created a website, hired
25	Americans to write for the website and post

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- 1 articles on it, and then are using fake accounts to
- 2 direct ordinary users to the content on that
- 3 website; is that right?
- 4 MR. SUR: Objection; assumes facts not in
- 5 evidence.
- THE WITNESS: Yeah, so you have summarized
- 7 one of the shifts that I noticed in my thesis.
- 8 Q. BY MR. SAUER: Got you. And the FBI was
- 9 the organization that flagged this for social media
- 10 companies as -- the PeaceData site as a
- 11 Russian-originating site, correct?
- 12 A. Yes, that is my recollection.
- 13 Q. Okay. So in that you talked about the
- 14 NAEBC site, right? That's N-A-E-B-C, right?
- 15 A. Correct.
- 16 Q. And that was a more right-wing site that
- 17 the Russians originated?
- 18 A. Correct.
- 19 Q. And just turning two pages ahead in your
- 20 thesis to Page 63, you have a sentence here about
- the NAEBC site that begins "Lastly, Graphika"
- 22 determined that the IRA used various social media
- 23 accounts to engage with real users and convince
- them to post on the NAEBC site, which met with some
- 25 success," correct?

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- 1 A. Yes, I wrote that, and I was citing the
- 2 Graphika team report.
- Q. So it's your understanding that the NAEBC
- 4 site also included content drafted and written by
- 5 real users that had posted on that site?
- 6 A. Yes, based on the Graphika report.
- 7 Q. So it is a bit like the PeaceData site
- 8 where they had hired freelance journalists,
- 9 including Americans, to post on the site. Here
- 10 they induced social media users to post their own
- 11 thoughts on that site, right?
- 12 A. That is correct, but we do not know the
- 13 nationality of the users because it wasn't
- 14 mentioned in the source that I used.
- 15 Q. You don't know today whether those were
- 16 Americans or foreigners who were posting on that
- 17 NAEBC site, right?
- 18 A. I do not.
- 19 Q. But the NAEBC site was designed by the
- 20 Russians for Americans to read, right, or Americans
- 21 and Europeans; is that right?
- 22 A. That is my assessment.
- Q. In fact, NAEBC stands for Newsroom for
- 24 American- and European-Based Citizens, right?
- 25 A. That is correct.

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1	Q. Higher on this page you describe these
2	people who posted on the site as unwitting
3	co-optees. Do you see that?
4	A. I do see that.
5	Q. So you have a situation where there's a
6	kind of, you know, intermingling or blending of the
7	inauthentic Russian content with essentially
8	authentic user-generated content, right?
9	MR. SUR: Objection; vague and ambiguous.
10	THE WITNESS: Yes, I characterize those
11	individuals as unwitting co-optees.
12	Q. BY MR. SAUER: And the FBI flagged the
13	NAEBC site for social media platforms as a kind of
14	Russian-originated source as well, right?
15	A. That is correct.
16	Q. Did you also flag social media accounts
17	that were engaged in directing people or
18	directing people to those sites, both PeaceData and
19	NAEBC, to the social media platforms?
20	MR. SUR: Objection; vague and ambiguous.
21	THE WITNESS: No, not to my recollection.
22	From my recollection, we provided those two
23	websites to include the URLs and then the companies
24	were able to discover Russian-controlled accounts
25	that were used to try to redirect users to those

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- 1 websites.
- Q. BY MR. SAUER: And the social media
- 3 companies told you that they had found them. Did
- 4 they say they had taken action against those
- 5 accounts?
- A. Yes, they said that they had taken down
- 7 those accounts.
- Q. Jumping ahead to Page 70 of your thesis,
- 9 which is Page 94 of the PDF, Table 5 here you have
- a summary of Facebook takedowns from 2020, right?
- 11 A. Yes.
- 12 Q. And you have a grand total of 825 accounts
- 13 taken down from Facebook and Instagram pages -- or
- 14 platforms, right?
- 15 A. That is correct.
- 16 Q. So I think part of your thesis points out
- 17 that Facebook was much, much more active in the
- 18 2020 election cycle in removing
- 19 malign-foreign-influence accounts than it had been
- 20 in **2016**, right?
- 21 A. That is my assessment.
- Q. And in your thesis, you only cite the four
- 23 publicly cited in media reports instances where the
- 24 FBI had flagged stuff to Facebook and other social
- 25 media platforms, right?

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1	A. That is correct. Because that was I
2	was writing the thesis for me personally, and I was
3	not representing you know, if you look at the
4	caveat in the first place, I was representing my
5	personal views and not necessarily the views of the
6	FBI regarding the thesis.
7	Q. But in your capacity as an FBI agent,
8	you're aware of a lot more than four instances
9	where the FBI had flagged accounts, right?
10	A. You are correct.
11	Q. In fact, I think you said it was one to
12	five instances per month in 2018 election cycle
13	sorry, one to five instances per month during the
14	2020 cycle and one to four instances per month in
15	the 2022 cycle, correct?
16	A. That is correct. And the reason for that
17	is because that information is not publicly
18	available. So I could not use it in my thesis.
19	Q. Understood. And of those 825 accounts
20	from Facebook, do you have any idea, ballpark, how
21	many of those were the results of takedowns
22	sorry. How many of those takedowns were the result
23	of information provided by the FBI?
24	A. Unfortunately I do not. I would love to
25	have that statistic, but I do not have that.

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1	Q. You kind of asked them for that and they
2	haven't told you, right?
3	A. That is correct.
4	Q. Okay. But it's some subset of those
5	because you have been told on multiple occasions
6	that they have acted on information that you
7	provided, right?
8	A. That is my assumption.
9	Q. Next page you talk about in 2019, Twitter
10	announced two takedowns of 422 accounts which made
11	929,000 tweets, right?
12	A. That's correct.
13	Q. Can you look at the figure on that page?
14	Looks like the topics relate to the 2018 midterms,
15	MAGA, ReleaseTheMemo and other subjects; is that
16	right?
17	A. That is correct.
18	Q. ReleaseTheMemo is some some sort
19	some trend that's designed to appear to appeal
20	to conservative voters, right?
21	A. Honestly, I can't remember.
22	Q. In any event, do you know how many of
23	these 422 accounts and 929,000 tweets that were
24	removed were the result of FBI information?
25	A. I do not.

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1	Q. It is some subset of those, but they
2	haven't given you the precise numbers; is that fair
3	to say?
4	A. That is that would be my assumption.
5	Q. And then the next page, again, there's a
6	reference to Twitter announcing four sets of
7	takedowns with 1,233 accounts as well. Same
8	question: I take it that some of those are due to
9	the FBI, but you don't know how many?
10	MR. SUR: Objection; calls for
11	speculation.
12	THE WITNESS: I would assume that some
13	subset of that amount was due to information we
14	provided, but I do not know the exact number.
15	Q. BY MR. SAUER: And at some level you know
16	that some are because Twitter's told you on at
17	least some occasions, "Yes, we acted on your
18	information and took down problematic accounts,"
19	right?
20	A. That is correct.
21	Q. Let's jump ahead to Page 76 of your
22	thesis. You have a discussion of some meetings
23	here at the bottom of the page. You see where I
24	am? On September you talk about how the U.S.
25	government was more engaged ahead of the 2020

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1		
\perp	elections,	right?

- 2 A. I said the government appeared to be more
- 3 engaged with social media companies.
- 4 Q. In fact, based on your actual experience,
- 5 were you more engaged?
- 6 A. I would personally characterize it as
- 7 being more engaged. However, I cannot discuss that
- 8 in a thesis.
- 9 Q. Got you. This next sentence you say
- 10 "September 4th, 2019, Facebook hosted an election
- security meeting with FBI, DHS and ODNI," right?
- 12 A. That's correct.
- Q. Were you at that meeting?
- 14 A. I was at that meeting.
- 15 Q. Who else was at that meeting from the FBI?
- 16 A. I specifically remember two attorneys
- 17 being at that meeting, but they are both GS-14
- 18 attorneys.
- 19 Q. Don't tell me their names. Anyone else
- 20 from the FBI?
- 21 A. No. I believe I -- yeah, I was the only
- 22 non-FBI -- I'm trying to remember if any FITF
- 23 employees came. Actually, yes, I believe one
- 24 employee from FITF came, but I am not completely
- 25 sure.

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1	^	Da	1	1			
\perp	Ο.	Do vou	Know	wno	lτ	was?	

- 2 A. Yeah, he's another GS-15. It would be the
- 3 unit chief for the Russian unit.
- 4 Q. How about from DHS, were those CISA
- 5 individuals?
- 6 A. I definitely remember Matt Masterson being
- 7 there, but I do not remember if Brian Scully was
- 8 there. Oh, I also remember the director of CISA,
- 9 Mr. Krebs, was there as well.
- 10 Q. So Krebs, Masterson and possibly Scully
- 11 were at that meeting?
- 12 A. Krebs and Masterson for sure, and I can't
- 13 remember if Scully was there.
- 14 Q. Okay. What was discussed at this meeting?
- 15 A. It was just an overall meeting to discuss
- 16 election security, and I think in my opinion,
- 17 Facebook held the meeting because they wanted all
- 18 of the relevant federal government components in
- 19 the same room to share what the federal government
- 20 agencies intended to do to ensure the safety of the
- 21 2020 elections.
- Q. Okay. And you go on to the next page to
- 23 say, "The other companies attending the meeting
- included Google, Microsoft, and Twitter, "right?
- 25 A. Yeah. And you can see from the footnote

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- 1 those were the only companies who were mentioned in
- 2 the article.
- 3 Q. Were there other companies there, since
- 4 you attended the meeting?
- 5 A. Yes, there were other companies there.
- 6 Q. Which ones?
- 7 A. I specifically remember Yahoo! was there.
- 8 Q. Any others?
- 9 A. Not from my recollection.
- 10 Q. Were the individuals from the social media
- 11 platforms at these -- at this meeting, were these
- 12 people from the site integrity or trust and safety
- 13 teams?
- 14 A. Yes.
- 15 Q. So those are the people on the social
- 16 media side who have responsibility for enforcing
- 17 content-modulation decisions and enforcing terms of
- 18 service?
- 19 A. That is --
- 20 MR. SUR: Objection; calls for
- 21 speculation, lacks foundation.
- THE WITNESS: That is my understanding.
- Q. BY MR. SAUER: Did you -- what was -- was
- 24 content modulation discussed at all? Was
- 25 disinformation discussed at this meeting?

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1	MR. SUR: Objection; vague and ambiguous.
2	THE WITNESS: From my recollection, the
3	social media companies were focused on discussing
4	disinformation, and the FBI was really focused on
5	the actors who were involved, specifically the
6	Internet Research Agency.
7	Q. BY MR. SAUER: So this was an information
8	where disinformation was discussed and removing
9	disinformation from platforms?
10	A. So the social media companies discussed
11	that. We, the FBI, did not discuss that.
12	Q. What did CISA discuss at this meeting,
13	Mr. Krebs and Mr. Masterson or Mr. Scully, if he
14	was there?
14	<pre>was there? A. From my recollection, CISA just discussed</pre>
15	A. From my recollection, CISA just discussed
15 16	A. From my recollection, CISA just discussed what their role was and is in securing election
15 16 17	A. From my recollection, CISA just discussed what their role was and is in securing election infrastructure and supporting election officials.
15 16 17 18	A. From my recollection, CISA just discussed what their role was and is in securing election infrastructure and supporting election officials. Q. Did they talk about disinformation?
15 16 17 18 19	A. From my recollection, CISA just discussed what their role was and is in securing election infrastructure and supporting election officials. Q. Did they talk about disinformation? A. I do not remember them talking about
15 16 17 18 19 20	A. From my recollection, CISA just discussed what their role was and is in securing election infrastructure and supporting election officials. Q. Did they talk about disinformation? A. I do not remember them talking about disinformation.
15 16 17 18 19 20 21	A. From my recollection, CISA just discussed what their role was and is in securing election infrastructure and supporting election officials. Q. Did they talk about disinformation? A. I do not remember them talking about disinformation. Q. How about ODNI, did they talk about
15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22	A. From my recollection, CISA just discussed what their role was and is in securing election infrastructure and supporting election officials. Q. Did they talk about disinformation? A. I do not remember them talking about disinformation. Q. How about ODNI, did they talk about removing disinformation?
15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23	A. From my recollection, CISA just discussed what their role was and is in securing election infrastructure and supporting election officials. Q. Did they talk about disinformation? A. I do not remember them talking about disinformation. Q. How about ODNI, did they talk about removing disinformation? A. No, they did not. ODNI, from my

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- 1 concerned might try to conduct malign-influence
- 2 campaigns against the U.S. elections in 2020.
- 3 These include Russia, China and Iran.
- 4 Q. You go on to say, "In August 2020, the New
- 5 York Times broke a story revealing that the private
- 6 sector companies working with the U.S. government
- 7 had expanded to include the Wikimedia Foundation,
- 8 Verizon Media, Reddit, Pinterest, and LinkedIn,"
- 9 correct?
- 10 A. That is correct.
- 11 Q. So let me ask you this: Were there other
- meetings, other than this one on September 4th,
- 13 2019, with these other companies?
- 14 A. I don't remember another -- oh, outside of
- 15 the CISA-hosted industry group meetings, I don't
- 16 remember another meeting that had all of the
- 17 companies together.
- 18 Q. Okay. So the CISA-hosted meetings, that's
- 19 the -- I think we talked about at the very
- 20 beginning of the deposition, the industry -- what
- 21 does CISA call, the industry-what meeting?
- 22 A. I can't remember, but yes, those were the
- 23 meetings I was -- those were the meetings I was
- 24 referring to.
- 25 Q. So you believe this -- you believe this

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- New York Times story that refers to Wikimedia,
 Reddit and Pinterest and so forth is a reference to
- 3 the CISA-hosted industry meeting that you just
- 4 testified about earlier, correct?
- 5 A. That is only my assumption.
- 6 Q. Okay. Those meetings you attended some
- 7 but not all of them, I think you said?
- 8 A. Yes, that is correct.
- 9 Q. Was disinformation discussed at those
- 10 meetings, the CISA-led industry meetings that
- included all these social media platforms?
- 12 A. Yes, from -- the disinformation content
- 13 was shared by the social media companies. They
- 14 would provide a strategic overview of the type of
- disinformation they were seeing on their respective
- 16 platforms.
- 17 Q. And then what did the government say in
- 18 those meetings?
- 19 MR. SUR: Objection; vague and ambiguous.
- THE WITNESS: As I mentioned before, CISA
- 21 primarily discussed actual election logistics to
- 22 include the dates of State primaries, the methods
- 23 for which ballots were cast.
- 24 The FBI, we just provided strategic,
- 25 unclassified overviews of the activities that we

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- 1 saw the Internet Research Agency doing.
- ODNI, to my recollection, did not provide
- 3 any substantive overviews at most of the meetings
- 4 except for to provide general assessments about
- 5 nation-state-level threats.
- 6 Q. BY MR. SAUER: I am going to jump ahead to
- 7 Page 94 of your thesis, and that's on Page 118 of
- 8 the PDF.
- 9 A. So where --
- 10 Q. Up here at the top.
- 11 A. Part B, "Recommendations."
- 12 Q. Right above it.
- 13 A. Okay.
- 14 Q. At the top you say, "Many factors are at
- 15 play when trying to measure the effects of Russia's
- 16 influence operations," right?
- 17 A. Yes.
- 18 Q. You say, "First-order effects include real
- users interacting with inauthentic content," right?
- 20 A. Yes.
- 21 Q. Interacting with inauthentic content, that
- 22 includes reading it, liking it, commenting on it,
- 23 potentially reposting it and reposting it with a
- 24 commentary, correct?
- 25 A. Yes.

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1	
1	Q. Those are all first-order effects of
2	Russia's influence operations, right?
3	A. That is how I define "first-order
4	effects."
5	Q. Got you. "Russian-bot amplification of
6	diverse organic content is what you list in that
7	list, right?
8	A. Yeah, I also define that as a "first-order
9	effect."
10	Q. And that refers to the Russian bots
11	basically being used to amplify, that is like or
12	repost or retweet, content that other users have
13	already posted, right?
14	A. That is correct.
15	Q. And then a third first-order effect you
16	identify is "IRA-controlled accounts communicating
17	directly with real users," right?
18	A. That's correct.
19	Q. They would be directing messages to those
20	users, and those users would be responding to these
21	inauthentic accounts, right?
22	A. Correct.
23	Q. Jumping ahead to Page 99, you make a
24	recommendation here for "the U.S. government to
25	establish a National Counter Information Operations
	•

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- 1 Center as an interagency fusion center and focal
- point for countering disinformation campaigns,"
- 3 right?
- 4 A. That is a personal recommendation that I
- 5 made. If you look at the footnote, this was one of
- 6 the recommendations of the U.S. Cyberspace
- 7 Solarium.
- 8 Q. Okay. So you kind of agree with what they
- 9 had recommended, right?
- 10 A. That is my personal stance, not
- 11 necessarily the stance of the FBI.
- Q. You go on to say, "In April 2021" -- you
- 13 talk about how that commission, the one whose
- 14 recommendation you agree with, envisioned a center
- 15 that would allow the relevant U.S. government
- 16 elements to work alongside social media companies
- 17 to combat disinformation, right?
- 18 A. That is correct. But I'm also citing a
- 19 report.
- Q. And combatting disinformation here would
- include the sort of stuff we're talking about
- 22 already today, which is flagging inauthentic
- 23 accounts and having them removed, right?
- 24 MR. SUR: Objection; vague and ambiguous,
- 25 mischaracterizes the record.

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1	THE WITNESS: Yeah. So my intent was
2	and what the commission also envisioned was closer
3	to realtime sharing of information. So right now,
4	you know, we are limited by the declassification
5	process, the approval process for us to be able to
6	get information in a form that can be shared with
7	the social media companies.
8	However, if some of the social media
9	company employees were to carry security
10	clearances, they could be discussed at least on an
11	informal basis at a high level, a higher
12	classification.
13	Q. BY MR. SAUER: And I take it that
14	communication could happen much more quickly under
15	this recommendation, right?
16	A. Yes.
17	Q. And that could, therefore, result in
18	quicker action being taken by the social media
19	platforms against inauthentic activity on their
20	platforms?
21	MR. SUR: Objection; calls for
22	speculation.
23	THE WITNESS: Yes, that would be my
24	opinion.
25	Q. BY MR. SAUER: And the next sentence you

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1	say, "In April of 2021, the" ODNI announced "it was
2	establishing 'the Foreign Malign Influence
3	
	Center'." Do you know anything about that Foreign
4	Malign Influence Center other than the public
5	report that you cite?
6	A. Unfortunately I do not.
7	Q. So you don't know if they have something
8	like you're recommending already in place where
9	people with security clearances on the government
10	side and the social media side can convey
11	information to each other more quickly?
12	A. So I am not aware of any such sent of
13	any such center being housed at ODNI at this point.
14	Q. Jump ahead or I'll jump ahead to Page
15	104. Here toward the end you commented that
16	"although the focus of this thesis was Russian
17	disinformation campaigns, domestic disinformation
18	operations also featured prominently ahead of the
19	2020 elections," correct?
20	A. Can you tell me what you highlighted
21	again?
22	Q. Oh, sorry. Here I am. "Although the
23	focus of this thesis was Russian disinformation
24	campaigns, domestic disinformation operations also
25	featured prominently ahead of the 2020 elections."

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1	A. Yes, I wrote that, and I was citing a
2	report from the Atlantic Council.
3	Q. Did you have any involvement in looking
4	for domestic disinformation campaigns in the 2020
5	election cycle?
6	MR. SUR: Objection; vague,
7	mischaracterizes the record.
8	THE WITNESS: In the context of the FITF
9	meetings, no.
10	Q. BY MR. SAUER: All right. How about in
11	any other context?
12	A. During FBI San Francisco's 2020 election
13	command post, which I believe was held from the
14	Friday before the election through election night,
15	that Tuesday at midnight, information would be
16	provided by other field offices and FBI
17	headquarters about disinformation, specifically
18	about the time, place or manner of elections in
19	various states.
20	These were passed to FBI San Francisco's
21	command post, which I mentioned to you before I was
22	the daytime shift commander, and we would relay
23	this information to the social media platforms
24	where these accounts were detected.
25	So I do not believe we were able to

determine whether the accounts that were posting

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2	time, place or manner of election disinformation,
3	whether they were American or foreign.
4	Q. But you received reports, I take it, from
5	all over the country about disinformation about
6	time, place and manner of voting, right?
7	A. That is we received them from multiple
8	field offices, and I can't remember. But I
9	remember many field offices, probably around ten to

12 field offices, relayed this type of information

12 And because DOJ had informed us that this 13 type of information was criminal in nature, that it 14 did not matter where the -- who was the source of 15 the information, but that it was criminal in nature 16 and that it should be flagged to the social media 17 companies. And then the respective field offices were expected to follow up with a legal process to 18 19 get additional information on the origin and nature of these communications. 20 2.1

Q. So the Department of Justice advised you that it's criminal and there's no First Amendment right to post false information about time, place and manner of voting?

MR. SUR: Objection on the grounds of

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to us.

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1	attorney-client privilege
2	MR. SAUER: He just testified
3	MR. SUR: and work product issues.
4	MR. SAUER: That's waived. He just told
5	him what he just described what DOJ said, and
6	I'm asking for specificity.
7	MR. SUR: I am putting the objection on
8	the record.
9	Q. BY MR. SAUER: You may answer.
10	A. That was my understanding.
11	Q. And did you, in fact, relay let me ask
12	you this. You say manner of voting. Were some of
13	these reports related to voting by mail, which was
14	a hot topic back then?
15	A. From my recollection, some of them did
16	include voting by mail. Specifically what I can
16 17	include voting by mail. Specifically what I can remember is erroneous information about when
17	remember is erroneous information about when
17 18	remember is erroneous information about when mail-in ballots could be postmarked because it is
17 18 19	remember is erroneous information about when mail-in ballots could be postmarked because it is different in different jurisdictions.
17 18 19 20	remember is erroneous information about when mail-in ballots could be postmarked because it is different in different jurisdictions. So I would be relying on the local field
17 18 19 20 21	remember is erroneous information about when mail-in ballots could be postmarked because it is different in different jurisdictions. So I would be relying on the local field office to know what were the election laws in their
17 18 19 20 21 22	remember is erroneous information about when mail—in ballots could be postmarked because it is different in different jurisdictions. So I would be relying on the local field office to know what were the election laws in their territory and to only flag information for us.
17 18 19 20 21 22 23	remember is erroneous information about when mail—in ballots could be postmarked because it is different in different jurisdictions. So I would be relying on the local field office to know what were the election laws in their territory and to only flag information for us. Actually, let me provide additional

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- 1 So I believe that all of those were reviewed before
- 2 they got sent to FBI San Francisco.
- 3 Q. So those reports would come to FBI San
- 4 Francisco when you were the day commander at this
- 5 command post, and then FBI San Francisco would
- 6 relay them to the various social media platforms
- 7 where the problematic posts had been made, right?
- 8 A. That is correct.
- 9 Q. And then the point there was to alert the
- 10 social media platforms and see if they could be
- 11 taken down, right?
- 12 A. It was to alert the social media companies
- 13 to see if they violated their terms of service.
- 14 Q. And if they did, then they would be taken
- 15 down?
- 16 A. If they did, they would follow their own
- 17 policies, which may include taking down accounts.
- 18 Q. How about taking down posts as opposed to
- 19 the entire account?
- 20 A. I think it depends on how they interpreted
- 21 it and what the content was and what the account
- 22 was.
- 23 Q. Do you know what the -- do you know
- 24 whether some of those posts that you relayed to
- 25 them were acted on by their content modulators?

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1	MR. SUR: Objection; vague and ambiguous.
2	THE WITNESS: So from my recollection, we
3	would receive some responses from the social media
4	companies. I remember in some cases they would
5	relay that they had taken down the posts. In other
6	cases, they would say that this did not violate
7	their terms of service.
8	Q. BY MR. SAUER: What sort of posts were
9	flagged by you that they concluded did not violate
10	their terms of service?
11	A. I can't remember off the top of my head.
12	Q. I mean, I take it they would all have a
13	policy against just posting about the wrong time
14	that the poles opened, right? Or the wrong date to
15	mail your ballot?
16	A. That would be my assumption, but I do
17	remember, but I can't remember the specifics as to
18	why. But I do remember them saying that certain
19	information we shared with them did not result in
20	any actions on their part, but I can't remember the
21	details of those. They were not frequent, but I do
22	remember that they occurred.
23	Q. In most cases when you flagged something,
24	it was taken down?
25	A. In most cases let me rephrase that.

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- 1 In some cases when we shared information
- 2 they would provide a response to us that they had
- 3 taken them down.
- Q. Got you. Same as the -- go ahead.
- 5 A. I would not say it was 100 percent success
- 6 rate. If I had to characterize it, I would say it
- 7 was like a 50 percent success rate. But that's
- 8 just from my recollection.
- 9 Q. And the success rate would be the number
- 10 of times it got taken down based on the number of
- instances you reported?
- 12 A. The success rate would be that some action
- 13 had been taken because it was a terms-of-service
- 14 violation.
- Q. Got you. Did this command post, this kind
- 16 of activity of relaying these reports of
- 17 election-related disinformation, did that occur
- 18 through these election command posts in 2022 as
- 19 well as 2020?
- 20 A. Yes. So to restate, the election command
- 21 post from 2020, from my recollection, occurred the
- 22 Friday before the election through Tuesday at
- 23 midnight. Then for the midterm elections, we only
- 24 stood at the command post, I believe, from 8:00
- 25 a.m. to 10:00 p.m. of election day.

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1	Q. So why was it operating longer in 2020?
2	A. Based on our experience in the 2018
3	midterms, where there was a very low volume of
4	information that needed to be coordinated, we
5	assessed that we could do with an actual command
6	post on Tuesday with people on call on Monday and
7	on Wednesday who, if needed to, could report and
8	activate a command post. This is specifically for
9	FBI San Francisco.
10	Q. And this command post was chosen to be
11	I mean, it addresses nationwide election-related
12	information, right?
13	A. So every field office, every FBI field
14	office was mandated by headquarters to stand at a
15	command post at least on election day.
16	And FBI San Francisco was responsible for
17	relaying any time, place or manner disinformation
18	or malign-foreign-influence information to the
19	social media companies as well as accepting any
20	referrals from the social media companies.
21	Q. So FBI San Francisco had the special job
22	of referring concerns to social media companies?
23	MR. SUR: Objection; vague and ambiguous.
24	THE WITNESS: Yes, and the reason for that
25	is because the majority of the social media

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- 1 companies are headquartered in FBI San Francisco's
- 2 territory.
- 3 Q. BY MR. SAUER: I am going to move to a
- 4 different exhibit, I'm sure you'll be happy to
- 5 hear.
- 6 A. Well, I spent a lot of time on my thesis.
- 7 Q. Both researching it and testifying about
- 8 it today.
- 9 Let me -- I am showing you an exhibit --
- 10 MR. SUR: Hang on a second.
- 11 (Reporter marked Exhibit No. 6 for
- identification.)
- 13 Q. BY MR. SAUER: I am showing you -- can you
- 14 see this exhibit --
- 15 A. Yes.
- 16 Q. -- defendants' amended objections and
- 17 responses on interrogatories?
- 18 MR. SUR: Counsel, to clarify, this is
- 19 Exhibit 6; is that right?
- MR. SAUER: Yeah. We had to go out of
- 21 order, so I am jumping to Exhibit 6 because they
- 22 were pre-marked. I just emailed you this one, but
- 23 it ought to look familiar.
- Q. I just want to jump down to Page 37 of
- 25 these interrogatory responses. Down here at the

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1	bottom of the page under "DHS," do you see this
2	here, it begins with a bullet point?
3	A. I see a sentence starting with "A
4	recurring meeting usually entitled USG-industry
5	meeting."
6	Q. Yes, yeah, that paragraphs states "A
7	recurring meeting usually entitled USG-industry
8	meeting, which has generally had a monthly cadence,
9	and is between government agencies and private
10	industry." Do you see that description?
11	A. Yes.
12	Q. The CISA-organized meeting that we have
13	talked about multiple times already, is that
14	usually entitled USG-industry meeting?
15	A. Based on my recollection, yes.
16	Q. So this interrogatory response appears to
17	be referring to meetings that we have already
18	talked about today?
19	A. That is correct, the CISA-facilitated
20	meeting.
21	Q. It says, "Government participants have
22	included CISA's Election Security and Resilience
23	team, DHS's Office of Intelligence and Analysis,
24	the FBI's foreign influence task force."
25	MR. SUR: Objection; misstates

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- 1 information.
- Q. BY MR. SAUER: I am asking you if this is
- 3 what it says?
- 4 A. This is what it says, and I remember
- 5 sharing with you from my memory those were the
- 6 participants. I forgot to mention DOJ National
- 7 Security Division, but I do remember that they
- 8 sometimes have participants.
- 9 Q. I take it you participated in some of
- 10 these meetings but not all of them?
- 11 A. That is correct.
- 12 Q. When did these meetings happen, what
- 13 years? Here it just says these monthly cadence
- 14 meetings occurred. When did they actually happen?
- MR. SUR: Objection; lacks foundation.
- THE WITNESS: I can't remember exactly,
- 17 but I believe they started happening before the
- 18 2020 election, but I can't remember how far before
- 19 the 2020 election.
- Q. BY MR. SAUER: So they were -- they -- I
- 21 guess CISA organized these meetings, I think you
- 22 said earlier?
- 23 A. That is correct, and I was just an
- 24 attendee.
- Q. CISA organized the meetings gearing up

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1	toward the 2020 election; is that right?
2	A. For these USG-industry meetings, yes.
3	Q. Were hack-and-dump operations discussed at
4	these meetings, or hack-and-leak operations?
5	A. Yes, they were.
6	Q. Tell me what was discussed about them at
7	these meetings?
8	A. The context of hack and dump is what was
9	the FBI and CISA doing to prevent hack-and-dump
10	operations. So from the FBI side, I think we
11	already I already relayed to you that we had the
12	protective voices initiative. I can't remember the
13	specifics, but CISA also discussed its
14	cybersecurity awareness efforts as well as grants
15	efforts with the state-, county- and local-level
16	election officials.
17	Q. Did anyone at these meetings tell the
18	industry participants to expect a Russian
19	hack-and-dump operation or hack-and-leak operation
20	shortly before the 2020 election cycle?
21	MR. SUR: Objection; lacks foundation.
22	THE WITNESS: From my recollection, I
23	remember that the FBI warned that I or someone
24	from the FBI warned the social media companies
25	about the potential for a 2016-style DNC

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- 1 hack-and-dump operation.
- Q. BY MR. SAUER: What exactly did you say to
- 3 the social media companies about that?
- 4 A. Essentially what I just told you.
- 5 Q. You said that there might be a Russian
- 6 hack-and-dump operation?
- 7 A. So what I said was although we have not
- 8 seen any computer intrusions into national-level
- 9 political committees or election officials or
- 10 presidential candidates at this time, we ask you to
- 11 remain vigilant about the potential for
- 12 hack-and-dump operations, or something to that
- 13 effect.
- 14 Q. Did you specifically refer to the 2016
- 15 hack-and-dump operation that targeted the DCCC and
- 16 the DNC?
- 17 A. I believe I did.
- 18 Q. Did you provide any basis to the social
- 19 media platforms for thinking that such an operation
- 20 might be coming?
- 21 A. The basis was -- my basis was it had
- 22 happened once, and it could happen again.
- 23 Q. Did you have any other specific
- 24 information other than it had happened four years
- 25 **earlier?**

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1 MR. SUR: O	bjection in so far as the
2 answer calls for the	law enforcement privileged
3 information.	
4 You can ans	wer, if you can, without
5 divulging the law en	forcement privilege as to any
6 particular investiga	tion.
7 THE WITNESS	: Through our investigations,
8 we did not see any s	imilar competing intrusions to
9 what had happened in	2016.
10 So although	from our standpoint we had not
11 seen anything, we sp	ecifically, in an abundance of
12 caution, warned the	companies in case they saw
13 something that we di	d not.
14 Q. BY MR. SAUE	R: So did you ask the
15 companies if they ha	d seen any attempts at
16 intrusions or unauth	orized access?
17 A. This is som	ething that we that I
18 regularly ask the co	mpanies in the course of our
19 meetings.	
20 Q. Did you ask	them in these meetings?
21 A. Not at ever	y meeting, but I believe I
22 asked them at some m	eetings.
23 Q. And did you	repeatedly warn them at these
24 meetings that you an	ticipated there might be
25 hack-and-dump operat	ions, Russian-initiated

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1	hack-and-dump operations?
2	MR. SUR: Objection; vague, assumes facts
3	not on the record.
4	THE WITNESS: So repeatedly I would say
5	can you can you ask your question like what
6	do you mean by "repeatedly"? Like 100 times, five
7	times?
8	Q. BY MR. SAUER: Well, did you do it more
9	than once?
10	A. I did it more yes. I warned the
11	companies about a potential for hack-and-dump
12	operations from the Russians and the Iranians on
13	more than one occasion, although I cannot recollect
14	how many times.
15	Q. Did anybody else at the FBI talk about
16	hack-and-dump Russian operations?
17	A. From my recollection, other senior
18	officials, to include Section Chief Dehmlow, likely
19	mentioned the possibility of hack-and-dump
20	operations.
21	Q. Do you remember Section Chief Dehmlow
22	mentioning it?
23	A. I said that I believe she mentioned it on
24	at least one occasion.
25	Q. What did she say?

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- 1 A. Essentially what I said. We all said
- 2 essentially the same thing.
- 3 **O. We --**
- 4 A. Which was --
- 5 O. Go ahead. Which was?
- 6 A. Which was -- which was because the Russian
- 7 government had hacked a political organization in
- 8 2016, that if they were able to do so again for the
- 9 2020 cycle, they would likely do it.
- 10 Q. So you had -- you told the social media
- 11 companies that a hack-and-dump operation was
- 12 likely?
- 13 MR. SUR: Objection; misstates the record.
- 14 THE WITNESS: Let me recharacterize it. I
- 15 said potentially as opposed to likely.
- Q. BY MR. SAUER: Okay. Did Ms. Dehmlow say
- 17 likely?
- 18 A. Not to my recollection. I think she said
- 19 potentially as well.
- 20 Q. You said we all --
- 21 A. We all, meaning myself and Ms. Dehmlow.
- Q. Were there any other FBI agents at the
- 23 meeting -- at these meetings?
- A. There were.
- 25 **O. Who?**

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- 1 A. They were GS-14 or under grade employees.
- 2 Q. From the San Francisco office or
- 3 elsewhere?
- 4 A. Both.
- 5 Q. Both, okay.
- A. During -- I'm sorry, let me be more
- 7 precise. During the quarterly meetings, there were
- 8 multiple FBI agents, as I previously mentioned,
- 9 from both the FBI San Francisco field office as
- 10 well as other field offices at these meetings.
- 11 Q. Okay. I think we are talking about two
- different sets of meetings because we started
- 13 talking about the USG-industry meetings, right,
- 14 organized by CISA, correct?
- 15 A. Oh, okay. You are correct.
- 16 Q. But then there were also the monthly --
- there's quarterly and then monthly and then weekly
- 18 meetings between FBI and social media platforms,
- 19 right?
- 20 A. That's correct.
- 21 Q. And which of those sets of meetings were
- the potentiality for Russian hack-and-dump
- 23 operations discussed?
- A. At the FBI-led meetings with FITF and the
- 25 social media companies.

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1	Q. Okay. How about at these USG-industry
2	meetings that were organized by CISA, were
3	hack-and-dump operations discussed then?
4	A. I would say less frequently, but what was
5	discussed was the potential for Russian
6	hack-and-dump-style operations.
7	Q. Okay. And who was that raised by FBI
8	or was that raised by others or both?
9	A. I can't recollect, but I would say I know
10	at least the FBI mentioned this, specifically in
11	the context of the 2016 DNC hack.
12	Q. So the FBI, would it be you and
13	Ms. Dehmlow, right?
14	A. Among others.
15	Q. So others would have raised that as well
16	at these USG-industry meetings?
17	A. Others from the FBI attended those
18	meetings.
19	Q. Did those others raise the issue of
20	Russian hack-and-dump operations?
21	A. I can't recollect.
22	Q. Do you know whether they did or didn't?
23	A. I know that I did.
24	MR. SAUER: Later, Mr. Sur, I am going to

25 ask for the identities of those participants. I

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1 can ask him now on the record under oath, or you can agree to give them to me in a private -- in a 2 3 private communication. Can we agree to do that? 4 MR. SUR: Just -- just to be clear, are 5 you looking for below the SES level? 6 MR. SAUER: Yes. I want the identities of every FBI official who was at the USG-industry 7 8 meetings referred to in this interrogatory response 9 in 2020. MR. SUR: Okay. I will discuss it with 10 11 the clients obviously. 12 MR. SAUER: All right. Then I am asking 1.3 him now on the record. 14 Who was there? Name the FBI officials who Ο. 15 were there regardless of their levels? 16 MR. SUR: Well, I'm sorry, when you say 17 regardless of the level, can you -- can we provide 18 you part of the name on the record and part of the 19 name off the record? 20 MR. SAUER: If you're willing to give me 2.1 the information, which you did not just agree to, I

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don't have to ask him on the record. We need the

Will you agree to give it to me? You said, "I have

to discuss it with my clients." I can't reconvene

information. You don't want it on the record.

2.2

2.3

24

25

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1	this deposition. I need the information. You can
2	agree to give it to me. I am going to ask him now
3	because it is not subject to a protective order.
4	MR. SUR: Okay. If anything, Counsel, a
5	break would be appropriate.
6	MR. SAUER: Okay.
7	MR. SUR: So I can I'm sorry?
8	MR. SAUER: We can go off the record.
9	MR. SUR: Okay.
10	THE VIDEOGRAPHER: Off the record at 2:11
11	p.m.
12	(Whereupon a recess was taken.)
13	THE VIDEOGRAPHER: Back on the record at
14	2:34 p.m.
15	Q. BY MR. SAUER: Back on the record,
16	Mr. Chan, after some discussions off the record.
17	You testified earlier that at these 2020
18	meetings between the FBI and social media platforms
19	where the risk of a Russian hack-and-leak operation
20	was discussed, they were attended by you and
21	Ms. Dehmlow, right?
22	A. That is correct, on some occasions. I
23	don't think either of us has attended all of the
24	meetings with the CISA-hosted USG-industry
25	meetings.

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1	Q. And then there were also the quarterly,
2	monthly, weekly cadence meetings involving just
3	FITF and the social media platforms, right?
4	A. That is correct, and other FBI field
5	offices to include FBI San Francisco.
6	Q. And the risk of hack-and-leak operations
7	were raised at both sets of meetings, both at
8	CISA-organized USG-industry meetings and the
9	FITF-organized direct meetings between the FBI and
10	social media platforms, right?
11	A. Yes.
12	Q. Okay. As to the first set of meetings,
13	the CISA-organized USG-industry meetings, other FBI
14	officials besides you and Ms. Dehmlow attended when
15	Russian hack-and-leak operations were discussed,
16	right?
17	A. That is correct.
18	Q. Who?
19	A. So from my recollection, and I don't know
20	who attended which meetings, but I remember being
21	in meetings with the following people: Brady
22	Olson, William Cone, Judy Chock and Luke Giannini.
23	Q. Can you say the last name again?
24	A. Giannini.
25	Q. Spell it, please.

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1 Α. I am not sure, but I believe it is 2 G-i-a-n-n-i-n-i. 3 Ο. And then the second name was William 4 Cohen, is that C-o-h-e-n? 5 Cone, C-o-n-e. Α. 6 Like the -- like the shake? Ο. 7 Like an ice cream. Α. Q. Any other FBI officials at that set of 9 meetings where Russian hack-and-leak operations 10 were discussed with social media platforms in 2020? 11 Α. Those are the only people I can remember. 12 Okay. Then talk about the other set of Q. 13 meetings, the FITF FBI meetings with social media 14 platforms in -- with the quarterly, then monthly, 15 then weekly cadence, what FBI officials attended 16 those meetings where Russian hack-and-leak 17 operations were discussed? 18 Α. So it's the exact same set of names that I 19 recollect. 20 Q. Did anyone --2.1 Α. I cannot remember what days -- or, you 2.2 know, which meetings that they attended because 2.3 William Cone and Wayne Brady both work in the same 24 unit, and I can't remember if they both attended or 25 if one attended or another. So I can't remember

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- 1 when. I do remember that at some point these
- 2 individuals have attended the FBI bilateral
- 3 meetings with the social media companies.
- 4 Q. And you said the names are Brady Olson; is
- 5 that correct?
- 6 A. Yes.
- 7 Q. Okay.
- 8 A. Olson.
- 9 Q. Is that O-l-s-o-n?
- 10 A. Maybe, or it might be s-e-n. I can't
- 11 remember. It's one of those spellings.
- 12 Q. William Cone; is that right?
- 13 A. Yes.
- 14 Q. Judy Chock; is that right?
- 15 A. C-o -- I'm sorry, C-h-o-c-k.
- 16 Q. And then someone Giannini, right? What
- was that person's first name?
- 18 A. Luke.
- 19 **Q. Luke?**
- 20 A. Luke.
- 21 Q. Is that L-u-k-e?
- 22 A. I think his full name might be Lucas,
- 23 L-u-c-a-s, but I refer to him as Luke.
- Q. Are all those people from FITF in
- 25 Washington, D.C.?

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1 A. Yes.
2 Q. Okay. What are their what are their
3 titles, do you know?
4 A. I do know. So I believe oh, the first
5 four are unit chiefs, and then Luke is an assistant
6 section chief.
Q. What are they unit chiefs of? Are they
8 chiefs of like the Russian unit or
9 A. Yeah, correct.
Q. Which one is the section chief, did you
11 say?
12 A. Assistant section chief.
13 Q. So that's
14 A. Excuse me?
15 Q. Is that the number two person under
16 Ms. Dehmlow?
17 A. Yes.
18 Q. Okay.
19 (Discussion off the record.)
20 THE WITNESS: Yes, Mr. Luke Giannini is
21 the assistant section chief at the Foreign
22 Influence Task Force.
Q. BY MR. SAUER: So at FITF, these meetings
24 include, in addition to you, the number one person
25 at FITF, Laura Dehmlow; the number two person at

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- 1 FITF, Mr. Giannini; and then at least three section
- chiefs at FITF, correct?
- 3 A. No, that's not correct. Ms. Dehmlow is a
- 4 section chief.
- 5 **Q.** Okay.
- 6 A. Mr. Giannini is an assistant section
- 7 chief, and then the other individuals are unit
- 8 chiefs.
- 9 Q. Got you. Did -- did anyone other than you
- or Ms. Dehmlow discuss the possibility or prospect
- 11 of Russian hack-and-leak operations at these
- 12 meetings from the FBI?
- 13 A. I can't recollect if others have said it,
- 14 but I know that that is something that I would say
- 15 regularly.
- 16 Q. You said that regularly in these meetings?
- 17 A. Yes. Not every meeting, but some
- 18 meetings.
- 19 Q. And does that apply both to the
- 20 USG-industry meetings that had many participants?
- 21 A. I would say for the bilateral FITF
- 22 meetings, I would have said that because those
- 23 would have been one of the types of
- 24 malign-influence campaigns that I would have been
- 25 focused on.

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- 1 For the DHS USG meetings, I was more of an
- 2 attendee and not as active as a speaking
- 3 participant.
- 4 Q. Did anyone else at those meetings, the
- 5 USG-industry meetings organized by CISA, address
- 6 the risk or prospect of Russian hack-and-leak
- 7 operations?
- 8 A. I believe they did, but I can't remember
- 9 who would have said it.
- 10 Q. Would it have been anyone at the FBI?
- 11 A. It may have been.
- 12 Q. Which one of these people is the head of
- 13 the Russia unit?
- 14 A. Mr. Olson and then after him, Mr. Cone.
- 15 O. Did Mr. Olson or Mr. Cone ever address the
- 16 risk of a Russian hack-and-leak operation?
- 17 A. I don't recollect.
- 18 Q. How about Ms. Dehmlow?
- 19 A. I don't specifically recollect, but I
- 20 believe that is something she would have mentioned.
- 21 Q. Do you think she raised it at some point
- 22 in these meetings?
- 23 A. Yes.
- Q. What did she say about it to your
- 25 recollection?

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1	A. It would have been that the FBI is
2	concerned about the potential for hack-and-leak or
3	hack-and-dump operations from foreign
4	state-sponsored actors, something to that effect.
5	Q. Did you discuss within FITF that risk
6	before you raised it with the social media
7	platforms?
8	MR. SUR: Objection; an internal
9	deliberation of that sort would be subject to the
10	deliberative process privilege, attorney-client
11	privilege and other privileges.
12	Q. BY MR. SAUER: Did anyone at any time
13	discuss that prospect with you or did you raise it
14	on your own?
15	MR. SUR: Same objection.
16	You can answer insofar as it doesn't
17	involve internal discussions within FITF or
18	discussions with counsel.
19	THE WITNESS: I would say in general the
20	FBI had internal meetings or discussions or at the
21	very least emails, coordination before the
22	CISA-hosted meetings.
23	Q. BY MR. SAUER: So there would be internal
24	discussion within the FBI before the CISA-hosted
25	meetings?

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1	A. Yes, about what agenda items would be
2	discussed during the meeting.
3	Q. In the course of those discussions, did
4	anyone suggest to you that you should raise the
5	risk of a Russian hack-and-leak operation?
6	MR. SUR: Objection; as I said before, it
7	calls for internal deliberations which would be
8	covered by the deliberative process privilege, by
9	the attorney-client privilege and other privileges,
10	including law enforcement.
11	THE WITNESS: Yeah, I will reiterate in
12	general, we would have internal discussions about
13	what would be discussed in the CISA-hosted meeting.
14	Q. BY MR. SAUER: More specifically, did
15	anyone suggest that let me ask you this: You
16	raised it at these meetings, right?
17	A. I know that I have raised it at the
18	meetings.
19	Q. Did you do that on your own accord or did
20	anyone else suggest to you that it should be
21	raised?
22	MR. SUR: Objection; as before, it's
23	covered by multiple privileges, and I am going to
24	instruct the witness not to answer on grounds of
25	deliberative process privilege, attorney-client

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- 1 privilege, law enforcement privilege, among others.
- Q. BY MR. SAUER: Are you declining to answer
- 3 the question, sir?
- 4 A. I am reiterating that I recollect
- 5 mentioning the potential for hack-and-dump
- 6 operations during the CISA-hosted USG-industry
- 7 meetings.
- 8 Q. Did you do that solely on your own accord?
- 9 MR. SUR: Same objection as before.
- 10 MR. SAUER: That doesn't ask for any
- 11 communications. Did he do it solely on his own
- 12 accord? Are you instructing him not to answer that
- 13 question?
- 14 THE WITNESS: I cannot recollect.
- 15 Q. BY MR. SAUER: Okay. I think we are going
- 16 to make a record on this.
- I am asking you, did anyone within the FBI
- 18 discuss or suggest with you that you should raise
- 19 the prospect of Russian hack-and-leak operations
- with social media platforms in 2020?
- 21 A. I do not recollect. In the context of the
- 22 USG-industry CISA-held meetings, I do not
- 23 recollect.
- Q. How about in the context of the bilateral
- 25 FITF social media platform meetings, in that

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1 context did anyone suggest it to you	1	context	did	anyone	suggest	it	to	you?)
--	---	---------	-----	--------	---------	----	----	------	---

- 2 A. So in that context, depending on what was
- 3 being briefed, without getting into the specific
- 4 investigations, certain -- as I mentioned
- 5 previously, certain nation state actors the FBI
- 6 deemed as potentially being capable of conducting
- 7 hack-and-leak operations.
- 8 So at the beginning of the meetings, I
- 9 would preface and say something to the effect of
- 10 "We are going to provide you a briefing on this
- 11 group because they have the potential to conduct
- 12 hack-and-leak operations like the Russians did in
- 13 2016."
- 14 Q. Did anyone suggest to you that you should
- 15 raise that concern to the social media platforms at
- 16 any time?
- 17 A. In the context of the FITF meetings with
- 18 the companies, I flagged that concern because I was
- 19 generally responsible in coordination with FITF for
- 20 coming up with the agenda for those meetings with
- 21 the social media companies.
- 22 Q. So are you saying -- what's your answer to
- 23 my question did anyone -- anyone suggest to you in
- 24 the context of the FITF social media company
- 25 meetings that you should raise the concern about a

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1	Duccion	haale-and-laale	amamatian?
	Russian	hack-and-leak	operation:

- 2 A. I do not recollect. However, I would have
- 3 flagged that comment on my own for the reasons I
- 4 just stated to you.
- 5 Q. So it is something that you would have
- 6 done on your own, but someone might have also
- 7 suggested to you to do it; is that fair to say?
- 8 A. They may have, but I don't recollect at
- 9 this time.
- 10 Q. Returning to the -- returning to the
- 11 USG-industry CISA-organized meetings, do you recall
- 12 anyone discussing with you at any time the prospect
- of Russian hack-and-leak operations in connection
- 14 with those meetings?
- 15 A. Who do you mean?
- 16 Q. Anybody. Did anybody on earth talk to you
- 17 about raising Russian hack-and-leak operations at
- 18 those meetings?
- 19 A. Do you mean from the social media
- 20 companies or from the government side? Because in
- 21 either case, I don't recollect.
- 22 Q. Okay. How about anyone outside the
- government, did anyone outside the government
- discuss the prospect of Russian hack-and-leak
- 25 operations with you?

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1	A. I do remember during the CISA-hosted
2	USG-industry meetings that the social media
3	companies would ask the FBI if they were aware of
4	any hack-and-leak operations, and I remember that
5	we would say ahead of the 2020 elections that we
6	were not aware of any hack-and-leak operations, but
7	that there was always the potential for there to be
8	hack-and-leak operations.
9	Q. Did the FBI tell the social media
10	companies that there would be a specific risk of a
11	hack-and-leak operation shortly before the election
12	in 2020?
13	A. I believe that we did mention that as a
14	possibility shortly before the election, perhaps in
15	the August or October time frame.
16	Q. So you mentioned that there you
17	mentioned that there was a risk that a
18	hack-and-leak operation could happen in October?
19	A. So to be specific, what we mentioned was
20	that there was the general risk of hack-and-leak
21	operations, especially before the election.
22	However, we were not aware of any
23	hack-and-leak operations that were forthcoming or
24	impending.
25	Q. Were you involved in the investigation of

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1	the 2016 DNC hack-and-leak operation?
2	MR. SUR: Objection; vague.
3	THE WITNESS: What do you mean by
4	"involved"?
5	Q. BY MR. SAUER: Well, did you have any
6	were you in any way involved in that investigation?
7	A. Yes.
8	Q. What was your involvement?
9	A. I was the supervisor for a squad that had
10	an investigation associated with the hack of the
11	DNC and DCCC.
12	Q. And what was your role in that
13	investigation? What did your squad do?
14	A. I was the supervisor for the squad that
15	ran one of the investigations associated with the
16	2016 DNC hack.
17	Q. What did your squad do in that
18	investigation?
19	MR. SUR: I am going to object on the law
20	enforcement privilege grounds. If you can answer
21	the question without discussing any particular
22	investigation or files or contents, you can answer.
23	MR. SAUER: Before you say that, I am
24	going to read some case law into the record. The
25	investigative the law enforcement privilege

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1	states, quote, investigative files with ongoing
2	privilege investigation. That's from Coughlin
3	against Lee, 946 F.2d 1152, 1159, Fifth Circuit
4	1991. The privilege, quote, is bounded by
5	relevance and time constraints and it lapses either
6	at the close of an investigation or at a reasonable
7	time thereafter based on the particularized
8	assessment of documents.
9	We are talking about an investigation that
10	happened six years ago. Is it your position that
11	you can assert law enforcement privilege with
12	respect to that? Is my first question.
13	Second one I'm not finished yet.
14	Second one is the documents relating to emails
15	relating to his involvement in this investigation
16	are publicly filed in the docket of the case United
17	States against Sussmann. So there's been a waiver

18 of that by those being publicly filed, in any

19 event. So now I am going to repeat the question.

20 Q. What did your squad do when it came to the investigation of the DNC hack-and-leak operation?

22 A. Can I confer with my counsel before I

23 answer this question?

Q. I want an answer to the question.

MR. SUR: Yeah, so let me just clarify.

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- 1 The objection based on law enforcement privilege, I
- 2 understand your position about the public
- 3 disclosure. But since you're not limiting your
- 4 question to what was in the public record, there
- 5 are cases that describe the application of the law
- 6 enforcement privilege to techniques that have
- 7 future application, including future
- 8 investigations.
- 9 So I don't think that the mere fact that
- 10 your question is about a past investigation will
- 11 overcome the law enforcement privilege concern.
- MR. SAUER: Well, why doesn't he answer
- 13 the question in general terms, and then we'll get
- 14 into specifics about law enforcement techniques? I
- 15 am not really concerned about those. Can he say it
- 16 in general terms?
- 17 THE WITNESS: Based on the case law you
- 18 cited, the information I have would be protected
- 19 under the first. Because this is an existing and
- 20 pending -- and active investigation.
- Q. BY MR. SAUER: So you're saying that the
- 22 2016 DNC server leak investigation is an active
- 23 criminal investigation?
- 24 A. What I am saying is that the investigation
- 25 of the individuals associated with the DNC hack of

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1	2016 is an existing and active investigation.
2	Q. I thought they were being indicted on
3	other charges later. Are you saying that there's
4	still an active and pending criminal investigation
5	of the 2016 DNC hack?
6	A. I am not saying there is a pending
7	investigation of the 2016 hack itself. However,
8	there is active investigations on the individuals
9	involved with the 2016 hack. That case has not
10	been adjudicated. The individuals have been
11	indicted. They have not been arrested. They have
12	not been going through the judicial process. This
13	is an active investigation.
14	(Reporter marked Exhibit No. 23 for
15	identification.)
16	Q. BY MR. SAUER: I am showing you a
17	collective exhibit that we have pre-marked as
18	Exhibit 23. Do you see this document?
19	A. Yes.
20	Q. These are some of your emails that are
21	publicly filed in the case the United States versus
22	Sussmann. Do you recognize them?
23	MR. SUR: I'm sorry, may I ask, Counsel,
24	have you sent this to us?
25	MR. SAUER: Let me email it to you right

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- 1 now. Obviously it wasn't -- we are getting a bit
- 2 out of order here.
- Q. Looking at this email, does this refresh
- 4 your recollection about what your involvement was
- 5 during that investigation?
- 6 MR. SUR: Counsel, may I ask that I
- 7 receive the email first so I can pull it up on the
- 8 iPad so Mr. Chan can see the exhibit that you are
- 9 talking about?
- 10 MR. SAUER: Can you see it on the screen
- 11 share? The emails were sent to you.
- MR. SUR: Okay. We have this PDF. May I
- 13 ask which page you're on?
- MR. SAUER: Start on the top page.
- 15 Q. Do you see that, the one on the screen
- 16 share?
- 17 A. 8:32 a.m. October 4th, yes, I see this
- 18 email.
- 19 Q. And you are being copied on emails lower
- down from Michael Sussmann at Perkins Coie; is that
- 21 fair to say?
- 22 A. Yes, I have been cc'd. The email is to
- 23 another DOJ official.
- Q. And then you forward that along to other
- 25 FBI officials, Patricia Rich and Delynn Hammell.

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- 1 Do you see that?
- 2 A. Yes, I see that.
- 3 Q. Do you know why Mr. Sussmann was copying
- 4 you on an email about sharing information on a
- 5 rolling basis?
- 6 A. Because I was involved with -- I oversaw
- 7 the squad that was responsible for one of the
- 8 investigations of the 2016 hack of the DNC, and
- 9 Mr. Sussmann was their legal representative.
- 10 Q. Which squad did you oversee?
- 11 A. I oversaw the Russian cyber squad at FBI
- 12 San Francisco.
- 13 Q. And the Russian cyber squad was
- 14 involved -- was it involved in trying to analyze
- 15 the DNC server to see how it had been hacked?
- 16 A. Yes, that is correct.
- 17 Q. And you oversaw that effort?
- 18 A. Yes. I managed the squad responsible for
- 19 one of the investigations of the DNC hack.
- Q. What did that squad -- did that squad
- 21 investigate the server?
- 22 A. We did a triage investigation of the
- 23 server and then sent it back to headquarters to do
- 24 a more complete investigation of the server.
- Q. What's a triage investigation?

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1	A. Triage in cyber cybersecurity context
2	is to try to extract indicators. As I mentioned
3	before, indicators can be email accounts, IP
4	addresses, other types of electronic indicia that
5	we could serve legal process in order to move our
6	investigation forward.
7	Q. Did you find any indicia of that when you
8	investigated the server?
9	A. I believe we did, but I can't recollect
10	the specific selectors that we discovered.
11	Q. Subsequent to subsequent to the 2016
12	investigation, did you have further communications
13	with anyone involved in that investigation about
14	the possibility of a recurrence in 2020?
15	A. Can you repeat that question?
16	Q. Subsequent to the 2016 investigation of
17	the hack of the DNC server, did you have any
18	communications with anyone involved in that
19	investigation about the possibility that a
20	hack-and-leak operation could occur before the 2020
21	election?
22	MR. SUR: Objection; vague. I also object
23	on the grounds of law enforcement privilege.
24	You can answer to the extent it doesn't
25	implicate any particular investigation.

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1	THE WITNESS: Yeah, so I do not remember
2	discussing the potential for a 2020 election with
3	any of the FBI personnel because they had moved on
4	to different roles.
5	Q. BY MR. SAUER: How about people outside
6	the FBI?
7	A. Well, Sean Newell, who is the email
8	recipient on this, is a deputy chief at DOJ
9	National Security Division. He would have been one
10	of the senior officials I would have consulted
11	with.
12	Q. Consulted with about what?
13	A. About potential Russian interference in
14	the 2020 elections.
15	Q. Did you consult with Sean Newell about the
16	potential for a Russian hack-and-leak operation?
17	MR. SUR: I am going to renew the
18	objection based on the law enforcement privilege
19	and ask that you not answer insofar as that would
20	disclose the contents of any individual
21	investigation.
22	THE WITNESS: My recollection was that
23	being the deputy chief at DOJ NSD, Sean Newell
24	would have overview of multiple FBI investigations
25	and would have a broader perspective than my

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- 1 perspective from the field office.
- 2 So I would regularly just ask him in
- 3 general how things were going and if they were
- 4 seeing anything that would be impactful to us at
- 5 FBI San Francisco.
- 6 Q. BY MR. SAUER: So you -- did these
- 7 conversations with Sean Newell occur in the lead-up
- 8 to the 2020 election?
- 9 A. I don't remember having many conversations
- 10 with Mr. Newell during the lead-up to the 2020
- 11 elections.
- Q. When did the conversations with Mr. Newell
- 13 occur?
- 14 A. They would have -- I can't recollect
- 15 specifically. I regularly have conversations with
- 16 Mr. Newell outside of the context of Russian
- 17 disinformation campaigns targeted at the 2020
- 18 elections. Because Mr. Newell, as a deputy chief,
- 19 oversaw all of DOJ's national security cyber
- 20 investigations.
- Q. Did Mr. Newell ever tell you that he
- 22 expected there might be a Russian hack-and-leak
- operation before the 2020 election?
- 24 MR. SUR: Objection on the grounds of law
- 25 enforcement privilege, also attorney-client

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1 privilege, given the functions of Mr. Newell in 2. this context. I will ask that the witness answer 3 only without referring to attorney-client 4 communications. For everything in this context you 5 can't, so... 6 THE WITNESS: What I can broadly say is 7 that we discussed national security cyber investigations in general, sometimes about Russian 9 matters, sometimes about other nation state 10 threats. 11 Q. BY MR. SAUER: Let me ask the question 12 more specifically. Prior to the 2020 election 13 cycle, did anyone suggest to you that there would 14 be -- or that there might be a Russian 15 hack-and-leak operation prior to the 2020 election? 16 MR. SUR: So I am going to object on the 17 grounds of law enforcement privilege and 18 attorney-client and all other privileges.

25 instruction. He keeps instructing you

disclose the contents of any particular

information in response to your client's

and I want to know whether you're withholding

You can answer insofar as it doesn't

BY MR. SAUER: Okay. I want an answer,

investigation.

19

20

2.1

2.2

2.3

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1	conditionally, and then you keep providing vague
2	responses.
3	I want to know are you, in fact,
4	withholding information from me in response to my
5	question as a result of that instruction. Did
6	anyone discuss that with you?
7	A. I am not
8	Q. That is not going to get into the content
9	of any content of any communications. I just
10	want to know did anyone discuss with you the
11	prospect of a Russian hack-and-leak operation
12	before the 2020 election?
13	A. So no, I do not recollect. The reason for
14	that is I don't recollect any specific person
15	discussing that with me.
16	However, based on both my experience as
17	well as my knowledge of active investigations, I
18	would have believed as my own assessment, I
19	believe that there was the potential for
20	hack-and-leak operations ahead of the 2020
21	elections.
22	I believe that there was the potential for
23	hack-and-leak operations ahead of the 2022
24	election, and I believe that there is the potential
25	for Russian hack-and-leak operations ahead of the

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- 2024 elections.
 Q. In particular, you relayed that belief to
- 3 the social media platforms on multiple occasions in
- 4 two sets of meetings in 2020, correct?
- 5 A. That is correct.
- 6 Q. And that includes the USG-industry
- 7 meetings organized by CISA, correct?
- 8 A. Yes, I believe so.
- 9 Q. And it includes the FITF organized
- 10 meetings with the individual social media
- 11 platforms, correct?
- 12 A. Yes.
- 13 Q. Did any -- did the social media platforms
- 14 respond to that, your communications that indicate
- 15 that they were taking any steps with respect to any
- 16 Russian hack-and-leak operations?
- 17 MR. SUR: Objection; vague.
- 18 THE WITNESS: So in general, I believe
- 19 that the companies were actively looking for
- 20 hack-and-leak operations, and I don't know the
- 21 types of technology that they use, but I believe
- 22 they use -- they tried to use detection methods
- 23 that would find whatever hacked materials were put
- 24 or uploaded onto their platforms.
- Q. BY MR. SAUER: Did they ever tell you that

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1 they were taking any action with respect to any 2 content posted on social media because of a concern 3 about a hack-and-leak operation? 4 So from my recollection, I remember -- I Α. 5 can't remember which social media companies, but 6 some social media companies adjusted or updated their terms of service or their community standards 7 to say that they would not post any hacked 9 materials. I believe the reason would be due to 10 privacy issues of the victim. But I can't 11 recollect which company said that. 12 When did those updates occur, do you Q. 13 recall, before the 2020 election? 14 Α. Before the 2020 elections, but I can't 15 remember when. I believe -- I believe the impetus 16 was in case there was a 2016-style hack-and-leak 17 operation. 18 Q. So is that -- was that a concern that you 19 raised to them specifically that there might be a 20 recurrence of a 2016 style hack-and-leak operation? 2.1 So I have raised that concern, but I Α. 22 believe independently they had similar concerns. 2.3 And in the same time frame that you were Q.

raising that concern, some of them updated their

terms of service to prohibit the posting of hacked

24

25

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- 2 A. I believe so.
- 3 Q. Did you ever discuss updating their terms
- 4 of service with them or suggested it to them?
- 5 A. I never suggested it to them. The only
- 6 context we would bring up terms of service is that
- 7 we wanted to know if they had changed their terms
- 8 of service or modified it, and we wanted to know
- 9 what they had changed.
- 10 Q. Did they advise you that they had changed
- 11 it to reflect the ability to pull down content that
- 12 results from hack operations?
- 13 A. Yes.
- 14 Q. And that occurred at some time after you
- 15 had raised these concerns with them?
- A. Some time after 2016, but before 2020. So
- 17 unfortunately I can't remember when they would have
- 18 updated it, but I do remember learning about their
- 19 terms of service updates.
- Q. During 2020 do you recall anyone at the
- 21 FBI discussing with you the prospect of a
- 22 hack-and-leak operation?
- 23 A. I believe that we internally discussed the
- 24 potential for hack-and-leak operations, and so I
- 25 regularly was in communication with the cyber

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- 1 division of the FBI as well as with the Foreign
- 2 Influence Task Force to see if they had heard of
- 3 anything that I had not heard of.
- 4 So I would say that the people that I
- 5 communicate with, everyone was vigilant, but no
- 6 one -- I believe that in general people at the FBI
- 7 were concerned about the potential for
- 8 hack-and-leak operations, but that we had not seen
- 9 any investigations that led in that direction or
- 10 that would lead us in that direction.
- 11 Q. Who are the people at the cybersecurity
- 12 division that you referred to?
- 13 A. So cyber division -- I can't even remember
- 14 the individuals now. And the reason for that is
- 15 they tend to rotate -- they rotate out every 18
- 16 months.
- 17 Q. How about FITF, who are the individuals at
- 18 FITF that discussed the concern with you?
- 19 A. So it was the three individuals that I
- 20 mentioned to you -- I'm sorry, the four individuals
- 21 that I have mentioned to you. Specifically,
- 22 Ms. Dehmlow, Mr. Olson, Mr. Cone and then
- 23 Mr. Giannini.
- Q. And did all of those people express to you
- a concern about the possibility of a Russian

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1	hack-and-leak operation?
2	MR. SUR: Objection; mischaracterizes his
3	testimony.
4	THE WITNESS: From my recollection, we all
5	shared the same concern for the potential for there
6	to be a hack-and-leak operation.
7	Q. BY MR. SAUER: Did you have any basis for
8	that other than the fact that one had occurred in
9	2016?
10	A. My basis for that was the hack-and-dump
11	operation in 2016 as well as our knowledge of the
12	skills of the Russian hackers who were involved.
13	Q. Any other basis besides that?
14	A. No. Those were the two primary reasons
15	driving our concern.
16	Q. In 2020 did you ever discuss the
17	possible or did anyone discuss with you the
18	possibility of a Russian hack-and-leak operation
19	before the 2020 election from outside the FBI other
20	than legal counsel?
21	A. I believe that the companies would
22	regularly ask if the FBI was aware of any
23	hack-and-leak operations ahead of the 2020
24	elections. We were not aware of any hack-and-leak

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operations.

25

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1 However, as I mentioned, we would provide briefings about nation state groups that 2 3 potentially had the capability of conducting 4 hack-and-leak operations. 5 Okay. Other than the social media Q. 6 platforms, anybody else discuss that with you? 7 Not to my recollection. Up. Not to my recollection. 9 You said "up"? Q. "Up" because we had already mentioned the 10 Α. 11 FBI employees. We mentioned the social media 12 companies. The reason I said "up" is because 13 technically Microsoft is not a social media 14 company. 15 Did Microsoft discuss it with you? Ο. 16 Α. During the -- they discussed their concern 17 during the CISA-hosted USG-industry meetings. 18 Q. What did they say? 19 I think -- I can't recall exactly, but Α. they shared the same sentiment about being 20 2.1 concerned for a potential Russian hack-and-leak 2.2 operation. 2.3 Ο. Who said that? 2.4 The individual from Microsoft, his first Α. 25 name is Jan, J-a-n, but I can't remember his last

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- 1 -- I can't remember how to -- his last name, or
- 2 even how to spell it.
- 3 Q. Antonaros, something like that?
- 4 A. Maybe. I definitely remember his first
- 5 name was Jan, and he had a last name that I am not
- 6 familiar with.
- 7 Q. Does it begin with an A-n-t?
- 8 A. That doesn't sound familiar. It feels
- 9 like it was a Scandinavian name, like Stevrud or
- 10 something. I don't remember why, but for some
- 11 reason I thought it sounded Scandinavian.
- 12 Q. Did any other social media platform
- discuss these things in the USG-industry meetings?
- 14 MR. SUR: Objection; vague.
- Q. BY MR. SAUER: Did any other social media
- 16 platforms discuss the prospect of having these
- operations, or hack-and-dump operations in the
- 18 USG-industry meetings?
- 19 A. I would say not to my recollection because
- 20 the primary individuals who spoke from the social
- 21 media companies were the three companies that I
- 22 previously referred to you, which is Facebook,
- 23 Google and Twitter and then Microsoft. Those were,
- 24 from my recollection, the four companies that spoke
- 25 the most frequently. If individuals or

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- 1 representatives from the other companies spoke, I
- 2 don't recall what they said.
- 3 Q. Did Facebook, Twitter or YouTube/Google
- 4 representatives address this issue at all of the
- 5 prospect of hack-and-leak operations?
- A. So during the CISA USG-industry meetings,
- 7 I believe that those companies regularly flagged
- 8 this as a concern at each meeting, or at least at
- 9 most meetings they would ask if the U.S. government
- 10 had any information about potential hack-and-leak
- 11 operations.
- 12 Q. How about other government agencies
- outside the FBI at these meetings, the USG-industry
- 14 meetings, did any of them discuss the risk or
- prospect of Russian hack-and-leak or hack-and-dump
- 16 operations?
- 17 A. So from my recollection, CISA would
- 18 discuss it from the standpoint of cybersecurity.
- 19 Namely if an organization or individual has good
- 20 cybersecurity, that will minimize the risk of being
- 21 hacked. So that was their standpoint. So they
- 22 were focused on cybersecurity and infrastructure
- 23 protection.
- Q. Who is "they"? What individuals were
- 25 saying this?

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1	A. So as I mentioned to you before, the only
2	individuals I remember who regularly spoke at these
3	meetings were Mr. Masterson and Mr. Scully.
4	Q. And those individuals discussed how to
5	defend against hacking operations?
6	A. Yes.
7	Q. Did they specifically say that they
8	anticipated or there was a risk that there might be
9	Russian hack-and-leak operations before the 2020
10	election?
11	A. I don't specifically recall, but that
12	sounds like something that they would have the
13	general they would have the same concern or
14	similar concern that I have.
15	Q. They might you believe they expressed
16	that concern in these meetings?
17	A. I do not recall any specific situations
18	where they did, but that, I believe, is something
19	that they may have discussed.
20	Q. And that would include both Mr. Masterson
21	and Mr. Scully, to your recollection?
22	A. Yes.
23	Q. Were you aware in 2020 that the FBI had
24	Hunter Biden's laptop in its possession?
25	MR. SUR: Objection; lacks foundation,

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- 1 calls for speculation.
- Q. BY MR. SAUER: Did you know it at the
- 3 time?
- 4 A. I was only aware when news media outlets
- 5 posted it, or published it.
- 6 O. Was Hunter Biden referred to in these
- 7 meetings in any way?
- 8 A. Hunter Biden was not -- in my
- 9 recollection, Hunter Biden was not referred to in
- 10 any of the CISA USG-industry meetings.
- 11 Q. How about the FITF social media company
- 12 meetings?
- 13 A. From my recollection, one meeting with
- 14 Facebook after the regular agenda had been
- 15 completed, one of the Facebook analysts asked if
- 16 the FBI had any information they could share about
- 17 the Hunter Biden investigation.
- To that I recall Ms. Dehmlow saying that
- 19 the FBI had no comment.
- 20 O. Would that have been before or after the
- 21 big -- the big news story broke on October 14th of
- 22 **2020?**
- MR. SUR: Objection; lacks foundation.
- 24 THE WITNESS: I am not certain, but I
- 25 believe that it would have had to have been after

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- 1 the news story broke because I don't know if it was
- 2 publicly known then.
- 3 Q. BY MR. SAUER: Do you know that in 20- --
- 4 so you remember sometime in 2020 a Facebook analyst
- 5 asked the FBI to comment on the status of the
- 6 Hunter Biden investigation?
- 7 A. That's correct.
- 8 Q. And you believe that this occurred after
- 9 there had been, you know, a New York Post article
- 10 about the contents of the laptop that you referred
- 11 to -- I think you referred to earlier you finding
- 12 out about it that way, right?
- 13 A. Yeah, I only found out through news media.
- 14 I have no internal knowledge of that investigation,
- 15 and yeah, I believe that it was brought up after
- 16 the news story had broke.
- 17 Q. And so the -- what did the Facebook
- 18 analyst ask Ms. Dehmlow? Did they ask, you know,
- 19 "Hey, we have the story. Can you confirm it," or
- what did they ask?
- 21 A. Yeah, they just -- I can't remember the
- 22 exact question, but I believe the investigator
- 23 asked if the FBI could provide any information
- 24 about the Hunter Biden investigation.
- Q. Did they refer to the laptop in particular

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	1	that	had	been	the	subject	of	the	news	stories'
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- 2 A. I can't recall.
- 3 Q. And what did Ms. Dehmlow respond?
- 4 A. She said no comment. She said something
- 5 to the effect that the FBI has no comment on this.
- 6 Q. Did she indicate why the FBI declined to
- 7 comment?
- 8 A. Yes. It was because -- at the time I do
- 9 not believe that we had confirmed that it was an
- 10 active -- we had -- at the time we had not
- 11 confirmed that the FBI was actually investigating
- 12 Hunter Biden. So she did not have the authority to
- 13 say anything or to comment about it.
- 14 Q. Did she know at the time that the FBI had
- 15 the laptop and that the contents had not been
- 16 hacked?
- 17 MR. SUR: Objection; calls for speculation
- 18 and gets into law enforcement privilege.
- 19 Q. BY MR. SAUER: To your knowledge?
- 20 A. I have no idea. I never asked her, and
- 21 she never told me.
- 22 Q. Did Hunter Biden come up with any other
- 23 social media platforms during 2020?
- A. Not to my knowledge.
- Q. Do you recall any mention of Hunter Biden

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$1 \hspace{0.1cm}$ at any meetings with any social media platforms?
2 A. No. It stood out because that Facebook
3 meeting was the only one where an individual from
4 one of the companies even asked about it.
5 Q. You're confident that Hunter Biden did not
6 come up at any other meetings between federal
7 government officials and social media platforms in
8 2020?
9 A. I was confident that I was not a party to
10 any meeting with social media companies where
11 Hunter Biden was discussed outside of the one
12 incident that I told you about.
Q. That was the one where it was a FITF
14 Facebook meeting where the analyst asked
15 Ms. Dehmlow and she refused to comment, correct?
16 A. That is correct. That is correct.
17 MR. SAUER: I am going to show you a new
18 exhibit, Exhibit 8.
19 Counsel, I just emailed it to you, too. I
20 will put it up on screen share, and it will be
21 familiar to you.
22 (Reporter marked Exhibit No. 8 for
identification.)
Q. BY MR. SAUER: Do you see this document
25 here?

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- 1 A. It says the "Declaration of Yoel Roth."
- Q. Do you know Yoel Roth?
- 3 A. Yes. I mentioned to you -- mentioned him
- 4 to you previously. He was the head of site
- 5 integrity at Twitter.
- 6 Q. And it says that's a trust and safety
- 7 department, correct?
- 8 A. Well, it says it is a site integrity team
- 9 which assesses content posted to Twitter to
- 10 determine whether it violates the company's
- 11 policies. So in general, that would be construed
- 12 as a trust and safety role.
- 13 Q. So in other words, he is -- has
- 14 responsibility for content modulation at Twitter,
- or he at least did at the time of this declaration?
- 16 A. Yes, I believe so.
- 17 Q. In fact, your committee worked with him in
- 18 that role, which he had until very, very recently,
- 19 right? Just a couple weeks ago, right?
- 20 A. Until the day after the election.
- 21 Q. I am going to direct your attention to
- 22 Paragraph 10 in this declaration. You see where it
- 23 says in Paragraph 10, "Since 2018, I have had
- regular meetings with the ODNI, "the Department of
- 25 Homeland Security, the FBI and industry peers

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1	regarding election security"? Do you see that?
2	A. Yeah, Paragraph 11?
3	Q. Paragraph 10.
4	A. I'm sorry, Paragraph 10. Yes, I see that.
5	Q. Do you know what regular meetings he's
6	referring to in that paragraph? Is that the
7	CISA-organized USG-industry meetings or is there
8	other meetings as well?
9	A. I am not sure, but from my interpretation
10	of this document, it would be in the context of the
11	CISA-hosted USG-industry meeting. Because I never
12	hosted a meeting with those U.S. government
13	components.
14	Q. So let me ask you this: Are you aware of
15	any meetings involving Twitter with ODNI, DHS and
16	the FBI and other social media platforms?
17	A. Only in the context of the CISA-hosted
18	USG-industry meetings.
19	Q. So the only meetings that you're aware of
20	that this Paragraph 10 could be referring to are
21	those USG-industry meetings that we have been
22	talking about organized by CISA?
23	A. That is my belief.
24	Q. Paragraph 11, "During these weekly
25	meetings, the federal law enforcement agencies

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1	communicated that they expected 'hack-and-leak
2	operations' by state actors might occur in the
3	period shortly before the 2020 presidential
4	election, likely in October." Do you see that?
5	A. Yes.
6	Q. Is that consistent with your recollection
7	that the communications at the 2020 USG-industry
8	meetings organized by CISA, that state actors, I
9	take it he means foreign governments, might
10	perpetrate hack-and-leak operations in a period
11	shortly before the 2020 presidential election?
12	A. Yeah, so the weekly meetings would have
13	occurred like very shortly before. Like we did
14	not switch to a weekly cadence until maybe six
15	weeks from the election, around then, maybe six or
16	eight weeks. It was a very short weekly meeting.
17	I do believe as I mentioned previously,
18	I don't remember who. I do remember myself
19	mentioning a concern for that, but it was mentioned
20	that there was the potential for hack-and-leak
21	operations.
22	Q. And so that first sentence you agree with
23	basically that people did say that to Twitter in
24	these meetings, that foreign state actors might do
25	a hack-and-leak operation in the period shortly

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1 before the 2020 presidential election; is that fair 2 to say? 3 Α. Yes. During the CISA USG-industry 4 meetings. 5 You're saying those obtained a weekly Q. 6 cadence in the six to eight weeks before that 7 actual election in 2020? Α. Yes. 9 In those meetings, I take it likely Q. Okay. 10 in October, was that relayed to Twitter and the 11 other industry participants? 12 I can't remember specifically, but it Α. 13 would have made sense for the meetings to 14 definitely have occurred on a weekly basis in 15 October ahead of the elections in November. 16 And did the federal officials in those 17 meetings convey that they expected that 18 hack-and-leak operations might occur shortly before 19 the election, likely in October? 20 Α. So I wouldn't have used the word 2.1 "expected." I would have used the word "concern" 2.2 about potential hack-and-leak operations. 2.3 reason I say that is because we were not aware of 24 any hack-and-leak operations that were pending. 25 Ο. Okay. He goes on to say in the next --

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- let me ask you this: Did you express that concern
- would be, quote, likely in October?
- 3 A. I would say possible in October.
- 4 O. He refers to the federal law enforcement
- 5 agencies, plural, in that sentence. Do you see
- 6 that?
- 7 A. Yes.
- 8 Q. And other federal law enforcement agencies
- 9 other than the FBI also convey an expectation or
- 10 concern that Russian hack-and-leak operations would
- occur shortly before the 2020 election?
- 12 A. Not to my -- not to my knowledge.
- 13 Q. So the only agency you recall conveying
- 14 that information is the FBI?
- 15 A. The only federal law enforcement agency I
- 16 remember conveying our concern was the FBI.
- 17 Q. How about any other agency?
- 18 A. As I mentioned, I believe CISA would have
- 19 had the same concern as the FBI.
- 20 Q. And that was relayed through Mr. Masterson
- and Mr. Scully, I think you said, correct?
- 22 A. Correct.
- 23 Q. Any other agencies or federal officials
- raise those concerns other than you, Ms. Dehmlow,
- 25 Mr. Masterson and Mr. Scully?

I believe that the senior election

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2	official from ODNI would also have flagged that as
3	a concern. Because that was a concern across the
4	entire U.S. government.
5	Q. Who is that?
6	A. At the time the senior election official
7	was Shelby Pierson.
8	Q. What did Mr is that Mr. or Ms.?
9	A. Ms., Ms. Pierson.
10	Q. What did Ms. Pierson say about that
11	concern for the social media platforms in these
12	meetings?
1 3	A I don't recall what she evactly said but

- 13 A. I don't recall what she exactly said, but
- 14 the sentiment would have been similar to what I
- 15 already conveyed, which is that I was concerned
- 16 about the potential for hack-and-leak operations.
- 17 However, we were not aware of any pending
- 18 hack-and-leak operations. I believe she would have
- 19 shared the same sentiment.
- 20 Q. Do you remember anything specific about
- 21 what she said?

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Α.

- 22 A. I don't.
- Q. Mr. Roth in the affidavit goes on to say,
- 24 "I was told in these meetings that the intelligence
- community expected that individuals associated with

Page 223

1	political campaigns would be subject to hacking
2	attacks and that material obtained through those
3	hacking attacks would likely be disseminated over
4	social media platforms, including Twitter." Do you
5	see that?
6	A. Yes.
7	Q. Do you remember that occurring, that
8	people in the intelligence community relaying that
9	they expected attacks on individuals associated
10	with political campaigns and that the material
11	obtained would be disseminated over Twitter?
12	A. So my recollection is different from
13	Mr. Roth's. Not that the intelligence community
14	expected that individuals associated with political
15	campaigns would be subject to hacking attacks, but
16	that there was the potential for individuals
17	associated with political campaigns.
18	The reason I say that is because I and the
19	individuals I work with at FITF, we were not aware
20	of any successful hacks into any political
21	organizations or campaigns at the same time of

How about in the intelligence community?

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You know, I take it that may refer to ODNI --

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these meetings.

A. Yeah.

22

23

24

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1	Q is Mr. Roth accurately describing what
2	they said in these meetings?
3	MR. SUR: Objection; calls for
4	speculation.
5	THE WITNESS: Yeah, I don't know what
6	Mr. Roth meant or meant, but what I'm letting you
7	know is that from my recollection I don't
8	believe we would have worded it so strongly to say
9	that we expected there to be hacks. I would have
10	worded it to say that there was the potential for
11	hacks, and I believe that is how anyone from our
12	side would have framed the comment.
13	And the reason I believe that is because I
14	and the FBI, for that matter the U.S. intelligence
15	community, was not aware of any successful hacks
16	against political organizations or political
17	campaigns.
18	Q. BY MR. SAUER: You don't think that
19	intelligence officials described it in the way that
20	Mr. Roth does here in this sentence in the
21	affidavit?
22	A. Yeah, I would not have I do not believe
23	that the intelligence community would have expected
24	it. I said that they would have been concerned
25	about the potential for it.

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1	Q. How about the second half of the sentence
2	here where he says that he was told in these
3	meetings that material obtained through those
4	foreign hacking attacks would likely be
5	disseminated over social media platforms, including
6	Twitter, do you recall that being discussed in the
7	meetings?
8	A. Yeah, so if you're going to break it up
9	into two parts like that, if there were a
10	successful hack, that is what the intelligence
11	community and I both think would happen.
12	Q. Did you relay that to them, that if there
13	were a successful hack, they would likely relay the
14	hacked materials over social media platforms
15	including Twitter?
16	A. I don't remember if I relayed that, but I
17	do agree with Mr. Roth's statement, that if there
18	was a hack, that that would be a method to
19	disseminate the information.
20	Q. And that particular concern was relayed to
21	social media platforms in these meetings?
22	A. Yes, you are correct.
23	Q. He goes on to say, "These expectations of
24	these hack-and-leak operations were discussed
25	throughout 2020." Do you see that?

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1	A. Yes.
2	Q. What was that, in fact, true that all
3	throughout 2020 there were discussions of these
4	concerns about hack-and-leak operations?
5	A. So I would not have used the word
6	"expectation." As I characterized it to you
7	before, we regularly discuss the potential for
8	nation state actors to conduct hack-and-leak
9	operations. And we provided briefings on the
10	specific nation state actors that we believe who
11	were potentially capable of conducting these types
12	of operations.
13	Q. That would include Russia, I presume?
14	A. Yes.
15	Q. And you so in the briefings you
16	provided to them, you brief them on your
17	understanding that Russia was capable of conducting
18	those hack-and-leak operations?
19	A. Yes.
20	Q. Do you brief them on your concerns that
21	those might occur in the 2020 election cycle in
22	connection with those briefings as well, correct?
23	A. Yeah, from my recollection, "might" is a
24	more appropriate word than "expected."
25	Q. So you feel like you said "might," and

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1	Mr. Roth feels like he was told they were
2	"expected"; is that fair to say?
3	A. Well, he wrote that well, in this
4	deposition he provided, he said "expected," but I
5	don't remember the language being so strong from
6	from me or from any FBI officials.
7	Q. I want to direct your sentence to the next
8	page sentence. He says, "I also learned in
9	these meetings that there were rumors" of a
10	hack-and-leak "that a hack-and-leak operation
11	would involve Hunter Biden," right, you see that?
12	A. Yes.
13	Q. Do you remember what's he referring to
14	there, to your recollection?
15	A. So from my recollection, the social media
16	companies, who include Twitter, would regularly ask
17	us, "Hey, what kind of content do you think the
18	nation state actors, the Russians would post," and
19	then they would provide examples. Like, "Would it
20	be X" or "Would it be Y" or "Would it be Z." And
21	then we I and then the other FBI officials would
22	say, "We believe that the Russians will take
23	advantage of any hot-button issue."
24	And we I do not remember us
25	specifically saying "Hunter Biden" in any meeting

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1	with Twitter.
2	Q. Mr. Roth says in his sworn declaration he
3	learned in these meetings, and I take it we are
4	still talking about these weekly meetings, USG
5	industry CISA-organized meetings, he learned in
6	these meetings that there were rumors that a
7	hack-and-leak operation would involve Hunter Biden,
8	right? That's what he said in his sworn
9	declaration, right?
10	A. Yes, I see that's what he said.
11	Q. And do you have any reason to doubt the
12	veracity of what he said?
13	A. I would interpret what he said
14	differently.
15	Q. How would you interpret what he said when
16	he says he learned that there were rumors that a
17	hack-and-leak operation would involve Hunter Biden?
18	What do you think he's referring to?
19	MR. SUR: Objection; calls for
20	speculation.
21	THE WITNESS: Yeah, in my estimation, we
22	never discussed Hunter Biden specifically with
23	Twitter. And so the way I read that is that there
24	are hack-and-leak operations, and then at the
25	time at the time I believe he flagged one of the

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- 1 potential current events that were happening ahead
- 2 of the elections.
- Q. BY MR. SAUER: You believe that he, Yoel
- 4 Roth, flagged Hunter Biden in one of these
- 5 meetings?
- 6 A. No. I believe -- I don't believe he
- 7 flagged it during one of the meetings. I just
- 8 think that -- so I don't know. I cannot read his
- 9 mind, but my assessment is because I don't remember
- 10 discussing Hunter Biden at any of the meetings with
- 11 Twitter, that we didn't discuss it.
- So this would have been something that he
- 13 would have just thought of as a hot-button issue on
- 14 his own that happened in October.
- 15 Q. So you think that where he says he learned
- in the meetings that there were rumors that a
- 17 hack-and-leak operation would involve Hunter Biden,
- 18 you don't recall any basis for that actually being
- 19 discussed in the meetings?
- 20 A. That is correct.
- Q. Paragraph 12 goes on to say that "On
- October 14, 2020, I learned from media coverage
- that the New York Post had posted the articles to
- 24 its website that morning containing emails and
- other personal materials found on a hard drive that

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1 allegedly belonged to Hunter Biden." Do you see 2 that? 3 Yes, Paragraph 12. Α. 4 There's that reference to those articles 0. 5 that you referred to earlier, correct? 6 Α. Correct. 7 Q. It's your testimony that those news articles are the first time that you became aware 9 that -- you became aware of Hunter Biden's laptop 10 in any connection? 11 Α. Yes. I don't remember if it was a New 12 York Post article or if it was another media outlet, but it was on multiple media outlets, and I 13 14 can't remember which article I read. 15 And before that day, October 14th, 2020, 16 were you aware -- were you aware of Hunter Biden --17 had anyone ever mentioned Hunter Biden's laptop to 18 you? 19 Α. No. 20 The next paragraph Mr. Roth says, "The Q. 21 site integrity team preliminarily determined that 2.2 the information in the articles," the New York Post 2.3 articles, "could have been obtained through

hacking, based on, among other things, the type of

material, the sourcing described in the articles,

24

25

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1	and the information security community's initial
2	reactions." Do you see that?
3	A. Yes.
4	Q. Do you know what he's referring to in that
5	last bit where he talks about the information
6	security community's initial reactions?
7	MR. SUR: Objection; calls for
8	speculation.
9	THE WITNESS: I do not know.
10	Q. BY MR. SAUER: Do you know what is the
11	information security community?
12	A. So I don't know specifically that
13	reference that he's using, but there is you
14	know, I my assessment is that he's talking
15	broadly about the American information security
16	industry, but I don't know.
17	Q. Does that include the FBI?
18	MR. SUR: Objection; calls for
19	speculation.
20	THE WITNESS: So I don't know. However, I
21	do not believe that involves the FBI. To me when I
22	read that, this is the first time I am reading that
23	paragraph, it sounds like he is talking about the
24	private sector information security community.
25	Q. BY MR. SAUER: He goes on to talk about

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1	how Twitter ended up essentially blocking the
2	articles from being shared on its platform and
3	suspending the New York Post's Twitter accounts.
4	Generally without getting into the
5	details, are you generally familiar with the fact
6	that Twitter took steps to reduce the distribution
7	of the Hunter Biden laptop story on its platforms?
8	A. Yeah, yeah, the extent of the information
9	that I learned was exactly what you just described.
10	I have no other knowledge of that.
11	Q. Okay. So right here at Paragraph 17 he
12	says, "The Site Integrity Team blocked Twitter
13	users from sharing links over Twitter to the
14	applicable New York Post articles and prevented
15	users who had previously sent tweets sharing those
16	articles from sending new tweets until they deleted
17	the tweets violating Twitter's policies," correct?
18	A. So that is what he wrote, but I am not
19	aware of the specific details of the actions that
20	they took until you just read that paragraph to me
21	today.
22	Q. Do you know if anyone at Twitter reached
23	out to anyone at the FBI to check or verify
24	anything about the Hunter Biden story?
25	A. I am not aware of any communications

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1	between Yoel Roth and the FBI about this topic.
2	Q. Are you aware of any communications
3	between anyone at Twitter and anyone in the federal
4	government about the decision to suppress content
5	relating to the Hunter Biden laptop story once the
6	story had broken?
7	MR. SUR: Objection; lacks foundation.
8	THE WITNESS: I am not aware of Mr. Roth's
9	discussions with any other federal agency. As I
10	mentioned, I am not aware of any discussions with
11	any FBI employees about this topic as well. But I
12	only know who I know. So I don't he may have
13	had these conversations, but I was not aware of it.
14	Q. BY MR. SAUER: You mentioned Mr. Roth.
15	How about anyone else at Twitter, did anyone else
16	at Twitter reach out, to your knowledge, to anyone
17	else in the federal government?
18	A. So I can only answer for the FBI. To my
19	knowledge, I am not aware of any Twitter employee
20	reaching out to any FBI employee regarding this
21	topic.
22	Q. How about Facebook, other than that
23	meeting you referred to where an analyst asked the
24	FBI to comment on the Hunter Biden investigation,
25	are you aware of any communications between anyone
ı	

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1	at Facebook and anyone at the FBI related to the
2	Hunter Biden laptop story?
3	A. No.
4	Q. How about any other social media platform?
5	A. No.
6	Q. How about Apple or Microsoft?
7	A. No.
8	MR. SUR: Counselor, if you have concluded
9	with this exhibit, may I ask or may I suggest that
10	a break would be appropriate? We have been in this
11	session now I think for an hour and eight minutes.
12	MR. SAUER: I'm okay with that. Want to
13	go off the record?
14	THE VIDEOGRAPHER: Off the record at 3:43
15	p.m.
16	(Whereupon a recess was taken.)
17	THE VIDEOGRAPHER: Back on the record at
18	3:57 p.m.
19	Q. BY MR. SAUER: Do you know Peter Strzok,
20	S-t-r-z-o-k?
21	A. Yes, I do.
22	Q. How do you know him?
23	A. I know that he was a deputy assistant
24	director at counterintelligence division, and the
25	capacity that I worked with him in was related to

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- 1 the Yahoo! hack, which also occurred in 2016, and
- 2 our office did the investigation for that hack.
- 3 O. What was the Yahoo! hack?
- 4 A. At the time the Yahoo! hack was the
- 5 largest data breach in American history where 500
- 6 million Yahoo! users' credentials were stolen by
- 7 Russian intelligence service officers.
- 8 Q. You worked on that investigation with
- 9 Peter Strzok?
- 10 A. So I oversaw the squad that ran the
- 11 investigation. So I oversaw the investigation.
- 12 Mr. Strzok consulted with me because he was
- 13 concerned -- he had counterintelligence concerns
- 14 about the investigation.
- 15 Q. What were those concerns generally
- 16 speaking? I am not going to ask specifics.
- 17 A. Broadly speaking, U.S. government
- 18 employees, U.S. current government employees as
- 19 well as other government officials had used Yahoo!
- 20 and still use Yahoo!, and he was concerned that
- 21 Russian intelligence officers would be able to
- 22 figure out the personal Yahoo! -- Yahoo! and AOL
- 23 accounts for current and former U.S. government
- 24 officials.
- 25 Q. Did you have multiple interactions with

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- 2 A. I would say regular -- like maybe once a
- 3 month maybe.
- 4 Q. Over the course of how long?
- 5 A. Over the course of about six months.
- 6 Q. Would these be phone calls or did you have
- 7 any in-person meetings with him?
- 8 A. These would be via classified Skype or
- 9 Link, if you're familiar with that Microsoft
- 10 product.
- 11 Q. So they'd be videoconferences that were in
- 12 a secured link?
- 13 A. They would be voice conference -- there
- 14 was video capability, but the FBI culture is not to
- 15 use videoconference.
- 16 Q. Have you talked to him since then?
- 17 A. I have not. Yeah, I only spoke to him in
- 18 the context of the Yahoo! investigation. So -- and
- 19 he was interested, you know, in the extent of the
- 20 damage, you know, like our intrusion investigation
- 21 to determine if we could tell if Russians were
- 22 aware which accounts belong to which U.S.
- 23 government officials.
- 24 Q. These interactions with him occurred in
- 25 the year 2016; is that right?

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- 1 A. Yeah, I would say spanning between 2015 to
- 2 2016.
- 3 O. So this would have been the same time
- 4 frame that he's involved in the Crossfire Hurricane
- 5 investigation?
- A. I do not know when that investigation took
- 7 place exactly, but I would say that I had
- 8 engagement with him in the late 2015 to early 2016
- 9 time frame.
- 10 Q. Do you know anyone associated with the
- 11 Crossfire Hurricane investigation?
- 12 A. No, not to my knowledge.
- 13 Q. How about Lisa Page?
- 14 A. So Lisa Page is an attorney, an FBI
- 15 attorney for the Office of General Counsel. She
- 16 was on many of the calls. I don't know if she was
- on all of the calls, but she was on at least some
- 18 of the, like, once-a-month calls that I had with
- 19 Mr. Strzok.
- 20 Q. She was on -- so you would talk to
- 21 Mr. Strzok and Ms. Page at the same time as the
- 22 Yahoo! investigation?
- 23 A. Yes. My understanding was that she was --
- 24 I don't know this for a fact, but my understanding
- 25 was that she was a senior attorney in the

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- 1 counterintelligence division and that she would be
- 2 privy to the types -- she would need to know about
- 3 the types of communications I had with Mr. Strzok
- 4 about the extent of the damage.
- 5 Q. Did you have any communications with
- 6 Ms. Page after 2016?
- 7 A. Yes, but not while she was working at the
- 8 FBI.
- 9 O. What communications were those?
- 10 A. She currently works for a private sector
- 11 company, and I have regular communications focused
- on cybersecurity matters with her current company.
- 13 Q. What company is that?
- 14 A. The company is Twilio.
- 15 Q. And you know her now and communicate with
- 16 her in her work at Twilio?
- 17 A. Yes.
- 18 Q. And do those communications relate to
- 19 hacking?
- 20 A. Cybersecurity in general and potential
- 21 hacks against the Twilio platform.
- 22 Q. Have you communicated with her recently?
- MR. SUR: Objection; vague.
- 24 THE WITNESS: I would say the last time I
- 25 communicated with her was maybe -- I can't recall

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- 1 exactly, but maybe two months ago.
- Q. BY MR. SAUER: How often do you talk to
- 3 her?
- 4 A. Maybe on a quarterly basis.
- 5 Q. Have you ever discussed with Mr. Strzok or
- 6 Ms. Page the prospect of a Russian hack-and-leak
- 7 operation?
- 8 A. No. The only investigation that I ever
- 9 discussed with either of them was the Yahoo! hack
- 10 investigation.
- 11 Q. Do you know anyone else associated with
- 12 the Crossfire Hurricane investigation?
- 13 A. No. But I do want to add during those
- 14 meetings that I had with Mr. Strzok, Mr. Jim Baker,
- 15 who was our general counsel at the time, would
- 16 attend some of those meetings as well.
- 17 Q. Mr. Baker would attend those meetings that
- 18 you had with Mr. Strzok about the Yahoo! hack?
- 19 A. Yes. At least some of them.
- Q. Who else would attend those meetings?
- 21 A. Just the three of them. It would be the
- 22 three of them getting a status update from -- they
- 23 would be getting a case update from me.
- Q. A case update about the Yahoo!
- 25 investigation?

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- Q. Did you ever discuss any hacking issues
- 3 with Mr. Baker?

Α.

- A. Not outside the context of the Yahoo!
- 5 hack.

1

6 Q. Do you believe that Russian

Correct.

- 7 malign-foreign-influence activities affected the
- 8 outcome of the 2016 presidential election?
- 9 MR. SUR: Objection; calls for
- 10 speculation.
- 11 THE WITNESS: Quite honestly, I don't know
- 12 if they had an impact.
- 13 Q. BY MR. SAUER: In your thesis you talk
- 14 about how -- I think on multiple occasions you talk
- about how that election was decided by about 78,000
- votes in three key swing states; is that right?
- 17 A. That is correct. So I wanted to highlight
- 18 that there was the potential, but unfortunately if
- 19 you read my thesis, I could not conclus -- I could
- 20 not conclusively say whether it had an impact, but
- 21 it potentially could have an impact.
- 22 Q. So your thesis was -- the conclusion was
- that potentially Russian malign-foreign-influence
- operations may have affected the 2016 presidential
- 25 election?

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1	A. Yes, but that we would never know
2	conclusively.
3	Q. I think you also cited statistics
4	suggesting that something like 59 percent of all
5	Facebook users had been reached by Russian malign
6	social media content during that election cycle?
7	A. Yeah, I cited that from one of the
8	reports, that is correct.
9	MR. SAUER: I am going to show you a new
10	exhibit. Just give me a second to email it to your
11	counsel.
12	(Reporter marked Exhibit No. 9 for
13	identification.)
14	Q. BY MR. SAUER: Can you see this exhibit
15	that I have labeled Exhibit 9 that I posted on the
16	screen share?
17	A. I see it on there, but I don't see it on
18	counsel's iPad yet.
19	Q. Just as a preliminary matter, you see that
20	it is dated October 28, 2020, and it states, "Tech
21	CEOs Senate Testimony Transcript October 28"?
22	A. Yes, I see that.
23	Q. And you refer in your thesis to the fact
24	that tech CEOs were called in to testify before
25	Congress shortly before the 2020 election, correct?

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- Q. I think you refer to this as one of the
- 3 instances where pressure was put on them to take
- 4 more aggressive action to -- to keep malign foreign
- 5 influence off their platforms, right?
- A. Yes, that was my assessment.
- 7 MR. SAUER: I am going to jump ahead to
- 8 Page 56 of this document. So Indraneel, I don't
- 9 know if you're following in the PDF.
- 10 MR. SUR: It hasn't arrived yet,
- 11 unfortunately.
- 12 Q. BY MR. SAUER: If you look here at Page
- 13 56, there's a question posed to Mark Zuckerberg who
- is the CEO of Meta or Facebook, correct?
- 15 A. Can you highlight the question that you
- 16 want me to look at?
- 17 Q. I actually -- probably just look at what
- 18 he said. I don't think the question is that
- 19 relevant.
- 20 MR. SUR: If I may interrupt, the email
- 21 just arrived, so we'll have it on the screen in a
- 22 few seconds here.
- MR. SAUER: Great.
- 24 Q. Can you see there --
- 25 MR. SUR: May I ask which page?

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1	MR. SAUER: Page 56 of the PDF.
2	Q. Do you see there in the middle of the page
3	it indicates that Mark Zuckerberg is the one
4	speaking?
5	A. I see that at 2:34:35.
6	Q. That's the place. Thanks. In that answer
7	he says along the lines of what you mentioned
8	earlier, "one of the threats the FBI has alerted
9	our companies and the public to, was the
10	possibility of a hack and leak operation in the
11	days or weeks leading up to this election,"
12	correct?
13	A. Yeah, I am reading that.
14	Q. Okay. And then Mr. Zuckerberg went on to
15	say, "So you had both the public testimony from the
16	FBI and in private meetings alerts that were given
17	to at least our company, I assume the others as
18	well, that suggested that we be on high alert and
19	sensitivity that if a trove of documents appeared
20	that we should view that with suspicion, that it
21	might be part of a foreign manipulation attempt."
22	Do you see that?
23	A. I do see that.
24	Q. This testimony is occurring two weeks
25	after the Hunter Biden stories in the New York
1	

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- 1 Post, correct, October 28, 2020?
- 2 A. Yes, that's what it was dated.
- Q. Okay. Let's go through his account there.
- 4 Mr. Zuckerberg said "one of the threats that the
- 5 FBI has alerted our companies and the public to,
- 6 was the possibility of a hack-and-leak operations
- 7 in the days" and/"or weeks leading up to this
- 8 election," correct?
- 9 A. Correct.
- 10 Q. Yeah, and he says the FBI has alerted the
- 11 public to that. Do you recall the FBI doing so?
- 12 A. I believe that we much more frequently
- 13 than in the 2016 context -- context, "we," meaning
- 14 the FBI and CISA, would put out advisories about
- 15 concerns that we had about the elections. These
- 16 would be public advisories.
- 17 Q. Would these include public advisories
- 18 saying there might be a hack-and-leak operation
- shortly before the 2020 election?
- 20 A. I can't recollect. I know there are
- 21 public advisories, and if you show them to me I
- 22 would be able to read them and refresh my memory,
- 23 but I don't recollect at this time.
- Q. Do you know whether such public advisories
- were made, as Mr. Zuckerberg says, relating to

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1 quote, the possibility of a hack-and-leak operation 2 in the days or weeks leading up to this election? 3 I can't remember any specific advisories Α. 4 at this time. 5 Were you involved in preparing public Q. 6 advisories? 7 Α. No. Q. Did you ever suggest that the FBI should 9 issue a public advisory about a hack-and-leak 10 operation? 11 Α. No, not specifically. What I did tell our 12 cyber intelligence section was that we, the FBI, 13 should try to be as transparent as possible ahead 14 of the 2020 elections. 15 In the next sentence Mr. Zuckerberg says, 16 "So you had both the public testimony from the FBI 17 and in private meetings alerts that were given to 18 at least our company, I assume the others as well, 19 that suggested we be on high alert and 20 sensitivity." Do you see that? 2.1 Yes, I see that statement. Α. 2.2 So do you know what he's referring to Q. 2.3 about the public testimony from the FBI? 24 MR. SUR: Objection; calls for 25 speculation.

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1	THE WITNESS: I don't know about the
2	public testimony. I could assume it is from
3	direct the director, Christopher Wray, or
4	another senior official, but I am not aware of what
5	testimony he's talking about.
6	Q. BY MR. SAUER: How about "in private
7	meetings alerts that were given to at least our
8	company, I assume others as well," do you know what
9	private meetings alerts he's referring to?
10	MR. SUR: Objection; calls for
11	speculation.
12	THE WITNESS: I don't know what private
13	meetings he meant, but as I've discussed with you,
14	I've hosted several meetings with Facebook ahead of
15	the 2020 elections. So these may be these private
16	meetings.
17	Q. BY MR. SAUER: You hosted several private
18	meetings with Facebook where the concern about a
19	hack-and-leak operation was raised?
20	A. Yes.
21	Q. Are you aware of any other private
22	meetings between the FBI and Facebook?
23	A. I am not aware of any besides the ones
24	I've hosted.
25	Q. Is it possible that others occurred that

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- 2 A. That is possible, but I am not aware of
- 3 them.
- 4 Q. And he describes those private meetings
- 5 alerts as "suggested that we be on high alert and
- 6 sensitivity that if a trove of documents appeared
- 7 that we should view that with suspicion, that it
- 8 might be part of a foreign manipulation attempt."
- 9 Do you see that?
- 10 A. Yes.
- 11 Q. Was that discussed in your alerts, that if
- 12 a trove of documents appear, that that should be
- 13 something viewed with suspicion?
- 14 A. I don't remember that exact framing of our
- 15 discussions with them.
- 16 Q. Do you remember saying -- I know you
- talked about, "Hey, there could be another
- 18 hack-and-leak operation." Do you remember saying
- 19 something like "If you get a whole bunch of
- documents that suddenly appear, that's something
- 21 that should be viewed with suspicion"?
- 22 A. No, I don't remember any of us saying
- 23 that. I think -- I don't remember this for a fact,
- 24 but I think what we would have said is we would
- 25 have asked "If you receive a whole -- if you see a

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- 1 trove of potentially hacked materials, what are you
- 2 going to do about it?" Which would be our way of
- 3 asking them how their terms of service would handle
- 4 a situation like that.
- 5 Q. Do you recall asking them how they would
- 6 handle it if potentially hacked materials appeared,
- 7 correct?
- 8 A. Yes.
- 9 Q. And what did they say?
- 10 A. So I believe that they would describe what
- 11 their policies were for validating the information
- 12 and handling the information in general. I can't
- 13 remember what specific company said exactly what,
- 14 but in general, I remember the social media
- 15 companies having terms-of-service policies to
- 16 handle this sort of situation.
- 17 Q. Which social media companies did you ask
- 18 that of, Twitter, Facebook and YouTube?
- 19 A. Yes, I believe we would have asked them
- 20 that, but I can't recollect when that would have
- 21 happened, but I believe we would have asked them
- 22 that at some point.
- Q. So you would have cautioned them that
- 24 there might be a hack-and-leak operation and ask
- 25 them how their terms of service would address it,

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1	fair to say?
2	A. That is fair to say.
3	Q. Okay. You specifically asked them how
4	their terms of service would address it? You
5	wanted to know whether and to what extent the
6	material would be taken down or blocked if it
7	appeared, correct?
8	A. Yeah, we wanted to know what actions they
9	would take to include the two actions that you
10	described.
11	Q. Why did you want to know that? Why did
12	you want to know whether or not the various social
12 13	you want to know whether or not the various social media platforms would take down hacked materials if
13	media platforms would take down hacked materials if
13 14	media platforms would take down hacked materials if they appeared?
13 14 15	media platforms would take down hacked materials if they appeared? A. So this is just my personal opinion about
13 14 15 16	media platforms would take down hacked materials if they appeared? A. So this is just my personal opinion about why we wanted to know was because I think
13 14 15 16 17	media platforms would take down hacked materials if they appeared? A. So this is just my personal opinion about why we wanted to know was because I think internally we wanted to know what actions that we
13 14 15 16 17	media platforms would take down hacked materials if they appeared? A. So this is just my personal opinion about why we wanted to know was because I think internally we wanted to know what actions that we would need to take, whether we would need to take a
13 14 15 16 17 18	media platforms would take down hacked materials if they appeared? A. So this is just my personal opinion about why we wanted to know was because I think internally we wanted to know what actions that we would need to take, whether we would need to take a legal remedy such as like a seizure warrant or

was -- if there's hacked materials and they stay

up, then -- and if the companies do not believe

they violate their terms of service, what actions

23

24

25

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1	could the FBI take.
2	So I mean, these are all hypotheticals.
3	Q. And the idea would be the FBI could pursue
4	a seizure warrant to have basically take take
5	the materials down through legal process if the
6	social media platforms wouldn't do it themselves?
7	A. So that was one hypothetical solution.
8	Q. And that was one that occurred to you?
9	A. Yeah, that was one that occurred to me. I
10	don't remember discussing it with anyone else.
11	Q. The who who of the FBI asked them,
12	the social media platforms, "How are your hacking
13	materials policies addressing this?"
14	A. I would say we take turns asking. When I
15	say "we," I mean either myself or the members of
16	the Foreign Influence Task Force I already
17	mentioned to you. Wherever it seemed like an
18	organic follow-up question, we would ask "How would
19	your terms of service apply to this situation or
20	that situation?" Just so that we would understand
21	what types of actions that they would take.
22	Q. I take it their answers would inform
23	potential further actions by the FBI, such as
24	potentially pursuing a seizure warrant to remove
25	hacked materials?

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1	A. I think we were we were dealing in
2	hypotheticals, so there was no concrete plan. In
3	my mind, that would be one way to take down
4	information.
5	And the reason I say that is because in a
6	different situation where the FBI became aware of
7	Iranian fake news sites, we did pursue a seizure
8	warrant and got an IIFA/FARA-based search or
9	seizure warrant to take down over 70 Iranian fake
10	news websites.
11	Q. Did they take down hacked materials?
12	A. I don't know the specifics. I oversaw the
13	squad that executed the seizure warrant.
14	Q. Do you recall, did Ms. Dehmlow ever
15	discuss what actions might be taken if there was a
16	hack-and-leak operation before the 2020 election to
17	take down materials?
18	A. No.
19	Q. Do you recall discussing that with the
20	FBI or anyone at the FBI, that is if we knew
21	there was a hack-and-leak operation, how do we get
22	the materials down?
23	MR. SUR: Objection; calls for
24	deliberative process privilege of internal

discussions within the FBI.

25

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1	THE WITNESS: Yeah, we did have internal
2	discussions. As I mentioned, the only one of
3	the solutions was potentially to see if we have
4	enough probable cause to execute a seizure warrant.
5	Another solution was to ask the company to
6	consensually take down the information even if it
7	did not violate their terms of service. So those
8	were the two hypothetical solutions that I
9	remember.
10	Q. BY MR. SAUER: Right. That second
11	hypothetical solution about asking them to take it
12	down even if it didn't violate their terms of
13	service, did you pursue that with respect to the
14	Hunter Biden laptop story?
15	A. No.
16	Q. Did you contact any social media platforms
17	and say, "Hey, can you take this stuff down because
18	it looks hacked"?
19	A. No.
20	Q. When the social media platforms answer,
21	did Facebook and Twitter indicate that they would
22	remove hacked materials under their terms of
23	service when you asked them?
24	A. From my recollection, I think both of
25	those companies said that they would remove hacked
1	

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- 1 materials if they were able to validate that it was
- 2 hacked. I don't remember -- I don't remember the
- 3 qualifiers that they used to determine whether they
- 4 were hacked materials or not.
- Q. When did they tell you that, roughly?
- A. I can't remember, but it was ahead of the
- 7 2020 elections.
- 8 Q. That would have been before that Hunter
- 9 Biden laptop story broke?
- 10 A. I don't remember. It would have been --
- 11 it might have happened in October. It could have
- 12 happened before. I think it may have happened
- 13 before then, but I can't remember.
- 14 Q. They made that representation to you, both
- 15 Twitter and Facebook, in these FITF Facebook
- 16 preelection meetings -- sorry. Let me rephrase
- 17 **that.**
- 18 Did they make that representation to you
- in the FITF-organized meetings with Facebook and
- 20 then Twitter?
- 21 A. I can't remember the specifics, but
- 22 generally speaking, the companies provided us with
- 23 overview of what their terms of service was and how
- 24 hacked materials could be categorized within these
- 25 terms of service and then just the types of actions

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- 1 that they would potentially take.
- Q. I think you said a minute ago that the
- 3 kinds of actions they would potentially take
- 4 included taking the materials down?
- 5 A. Yeah, that was -- that was a potential
- 6 action. I think it had to reach a -- you know, it
- 7 had -- they had an internal validation process and
- 8 it had to clear internal hurdles before they would
- 9 take that certain type of content down. But I
- 10 can't remember the specifics of what the internal
- 11 hurdles were.
- 12 Q. That information was conveyed to a group
- of FBI officials that had included you and
- 14 Ms. Dehmlow as well as Mr. Olson, Mr. Cone,
- 15 Ms. Chock and Mr. Giannini?
- 16 A. Yeah, I don't know if all of these people
- were present during any of those meetings where
- 18 they were discussed, but in general, I would say
- 19 that at least some subset of them would have been
- 20 present.
- 21 Q. Okay. And then did you guys relay that
- 22 information to anyone, "Here's what Facebook and
- 23 Twitter will do if they find and receive hacked
- 24 materials on their platforms"?
- 25 A. So I did not relay it to anyone else,

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1 outside of my internal discussions with them. not know if they relayed it to anyone else. 2 3 Do you know -- you don't know if it was 4 relayed to anyone else by anyone? 5 Α. I do not. I am only privy to what I discussed with them. 6 7 Q. Do you remember anything else -- turning back to the screen share, and you see 9 Mr. Zuckerberg's testimony, he talks about the 10 information received "suggested that we be on high 11 alert and sensitivity." Is that a fair 12 characterization of the communications from the FBI 13 to Facebook that you were involved in? 14 Α. So I would not have framed it like Mr. Zuckerberg did. As I mentioned, his language 15 16 seems stronger than how I would have framed it, or 17 how I believe FBI officials would have framed it. 18 We would have said something to the effect 19 of "We are concerned about potential hack-and-leak 20 operations ahead of the 2020 elections and that one 2.1 of the methods that we would use is to disseminate 2.2 the hacked materials on the social media 2.3 platforms." 24 So I don't know if I -- we would have said

that we should view that with suspicion. Instead

25

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- of "foreign manipulation attempt," I would have
- 2 said "foreign malign influence."
- Q. Did you, in fact, tell them that if a
- 4 trove of document appears, it should be viewed with
- 5 suspicion?
- 6 A. No. That's what I'm saying, is I don't
- 7 think we would have said that language.
- 8 Q. Did you tell him that if a trove of
- 9 documents appeared, it may be part of a foreign
- 10 manipulation attempt?
- 11 A. I would -- we would not have used that
- 12 language. As I said before, what we would have
- 13 told them and what I recollect saying is that we --
- 14 that I was concerned about a potential
- 15 hack-and-leak operation, especially right before
- 16 the election, and that one of the channels for
- 17 disseminating that hacked information would be via
- 18 the social media platforms.
- 19 Q. Do you know Timothy Thibault or Thibault,
- 20 **T-h-i-b-a-u-l-t?**
- 21 (Discussion off the record.)
- 22 THE WITNESS: I am not familiar with that
- 23 name.
- Q. BY MR. SAUER: Do you know Brian Auten,
- 25 **A-u-t-e-n?**

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1	A. Yes. I believe he was a supervisory
2	intelligence analyst in the in the special
3	counsel's office. That's how I know him.
4	Q. So he's an FBI official?
5	A. Yeah, he is supervisory intelligence
6	analyst, I believe is his title.
7	Q. What's a supervisory intelligence analyst?
8	A. A frontline supervisor position for
9	analysts within the FBI.
10	Q. Do you know how do you know him?
11	A. I only know him in passing because I
12	have I had engaged with the special counsel's
13	office specifically Robert Mueller's special
14	counsel's office. I know there are multiple
15	special counsel's office, but specifically Robert
16	Mueller's. I believe that he was part of the
17	special counsel's office team.
18	Q. What was your engagement with Robert
19	Mueller's special counsel's office?
20	A. So as I previously mentioned, we my
21	squad ran one of the investigations associated with
22	the hack of the DNC in 2016. The special counsel's
23	office consolidated all investigations that had to
24	do with any Russian interference in the 2016
25	elections. So we, specifically my squad and I, had

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- 1 to hand off that portion of the investigation to
- 2 the special counsel's office.
- 3 Q. So they took over your investigation of
- 4 the DNC hack?
- 5 A. Yes, they took over that portion of the
- 6 investigation.
- 7 Q. What other portions were there?
- 8 A. The other portion is the continuing active
- 9 investigation against the individuals for our
- 10 computer intrusions besides the 2016 DNC hack.
- 11 Q. So it involves the same malign actors but
- 12 not the same hacking attempt?
- 13 A. Correct, yeah, that is a correct
- 14 assessment.
- 15 MR. SAUER: I am going to email you and
- 16 your counsel a set of new exhibits.
- 17 Indraneel, can you tell me when you get
- 18 these?
- 19 MR. SUR: I will.
- MR. SAUER: Has that email come yet?
- 21 MR. SUR: Still waiting.
- MR. SAUER: While you're waiting, I am
- 23 going to go ahead and share, just to keep things
- 24 moving, Exhibit 13 with you.
- 25 (Reporter marked Exhibit No. 13 for

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1	identification.)
2	Q. BY MR. SAUER: Do you see that now, sir,
3	Exhibit 13?
4	A. Yeah, I see the title is "Audio
5	Transcription of Recording in re: State of
6	Missouri, et al., versus Joseph R. Biden, Junior."
7	Q. It goes on "File: FBI on Election-There's
8	Going to be a Lot of Noise," right?
9	MR. SUR: I'm sorry, we still don't have
10	the email. So is this Exhibit 13?
11	MR. SAUER: Yeah. We may have the court
12	reporter make a transcription of his publicly
13	record public interviews, the audio of his
14	public interviews.
15	Q. So Mr Agent Chan, on October 28, 2020,
16	did you give an interview to someone called Tom
17	Field relating to the upcoming election?
18	A. I believe I did. I give a lot of
19	interviews, but yeah, I am looking at the
20	transcript of this one. Tom Field is associated
21	with a media outlet called ISMG.
22	Q. Interestingly the date of this is October
23	28, 2020, the same date as the tech CEOs
24	congressional testimony we just talked about,
25	right?

Okay. Yeah, I didn't remember when the

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- 2 tech CEOs testified, but you have refreshed my
 3 memory.
 4 Q. This would be less than a week before the
 - 6 A. Yes.

Α.

- 7 Q. And you told him there's going to be a lot
- 8 of noise. Do you know what you were talking about
- 9 there?

1

5

- 10 A. Can you tell me what page you're on?
- 11 Q. That title "FBI on Election-There's Going
- 12 to be a Lot of Noise," did you say that to him?
- 13 A. What line is that? What page?

October 2020 election, right?

- 14 Q. I am highlighting it. It is the all caps
- 15 title on Lines 10 and 11 on Page 1, "FBI on
- 16 Election-There's Going to be a Lot of Noise."
- 17 A. So I don't recall making that title.
- 18 Q. Do you remember making that statement,
- 19 that there's going to be a lot of noise?
- 20 A. Is it in the transcript anywhere?
- 21 Q. I am just asking do you remember that?
- 22 A. I don't remember it. That's why I'm
- 23 asking if it is in the transcript anywhere.
- Q. Fair enough. If you don't remember, you
- 25 don't remember.

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1	A. Yeah.
2	Q. Go down to Page 9 of the transcript,
3	there's a paragraph here starting on Line 3 at Page
4	9 where you say, "So I am going to ask I'm
5	probably going to say the same thing that I said
6	the last time, but if you see something, say
7	something; right? So if you are seeing any types
8	of cyber attacks against your companies, let your
9	local FBI office know; right?"
10	A. Yes, I see that.
11	Q. Is that do you recall saying that to
12	Tom Field?
13	A. I don't specifically remember, but it
14	appears to be a transcript of an interview I had
15	with him. That seems like something I would say.
16	Q. And then you go to say, "If you're seeing
17	something related to the election on your social
18	media platform, all of them have portals where you
19	can report that sort of information," correct?

Q. So there you are encouraging the listeners of the podcast if they see something inaccurate on their social media platform, to go and report it

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24 directly to the social media platform, correct?

25 A. That is correct.

A. Yes.

20

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1	Q. Then you go on to say, "They are being
2	very aggressive in trying to take down any
3	disinformation or misinformation," right?
4	A. Yes.
5	Q. And I take it the context here you're
6	talking about disinformation and misinformation
7	related to the election, right?
8	A. Yes.
9	Q. So you're encouraging the listeners of
10	this podcast to report to social media companies
11	any election-related speech that they see that they
12	think is disinformation or misinformation so that
13	the social media platforms can take it down, right?
14	A. So that the social media platforms can
15	review it and determine if it violates their terms
16	of service.
17	Q. And it was your view at that time that the
18	social media platforms were being, quote, very
19	aggressive in trying to take down any
20	disinformation or misinformation relating to
21	elections, right?
22	A. Yes.
23	Q. And you go on to say "if they see anything
24	on election day or before election day, you can
25	always report it to FBI.gov or justice.gov, and you

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- 1 know, there's a little button you can click to
- 2 submit a complaint," correct?
- 3 A. Yes.
- 4 Q. So you're encouraging the listeners to
- 5 report any disinformation or misinformation to
- 6 FBI.gov or justice.gov, correct?
- 7 A. That is correct.
- 8 Q. FBI.gov is the FBI's website, right?
- 9 A. Yes.
- 10 Q. Justice.gov, is that the Department of
- 11 Justice's website?
- 12 A. That is correct.
- 13 Q. Federal Department of Justice, right?
- 14 A. Yes, the U.S. Department of Justice.
- 15 Q. What happens to disinformation complaints
- 16 that get submitted to FBI.gov relating to election
- 17 misinformation or disinformation?
- 18 A. I believe that all these tips are reviewed
- 19 by an intake analyst, either an FBI employee or an
- 20 FBI contractor. And then I believe they have
- 21 certain levels of predication where they would keep
- 22 sending it higher -- higher up the chain.
- Q. What do you mean by certain levels of
- 24 predication where they would keep sending you
- 25 higher up the chain?

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1	A. So I would say if something is a vague
2	threat about for example, a common type of
3	threat is "I hate Politician X." And then someone
4	sends in a complaint like "I believe this user
5	wants to kill Politician X," but you know, what
6	that person said was a vague statement with no
7	threat in it.
8	So that is a that is like one type of
9	example. So in that situation, that type of
10	complaint would be filed away.
11	In another situation, for example, a
12	threat-to-life situation, "I want to kill
13	Politician X, and I know where he lives."
14	So then that would be they would the
15	analyst would try to figure out what field office
16	does Politician X reside in and then forward that
17	information to the appropriate field office to
18	conduct an initial assessment.
19	So that would be an example of how we
20	would handle two types of complaints.
21	Q. Those are complaints about threats. In
22	this context you're referring to disinformation and
23	misinformation, correct?
24	A. Yes.
25	Q. So if somebody reports not a threat to a

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1	public official but a disinformation someone
2	reports disinformation or misinformation on social
3	media to FBI.gov, how would that be processed?
4	A. So that would also be reviewed by the
5	analyst, and then it would be the same situation.
6	So if I can give you a hypothetical
7	example, "Political Party A vote on Tuesday.
8	Political party B vote on Wednesday." So if
9	someone submitted something like that, that would
10	probably be flagged. Like an analyst would say,
11	"Oh, this is involving the time, place or manner of
12	an actual election. I need to send this up to
13	someone who is more authoritative that can review
14	this information."
15	So they may actually kick this out to the
16	field office depending on if they can figure out
17	where the account holder is from.
18	Q. What if okay. So if that sorry, say
19	it again. They send it out to the field office?
20	A. In this hypothetical situation, let's say
21	a social media account user somehow identifies
22	themselves as being from the state of Missouri, you
23	know, like it is a handle. And then they say or
24	they portray themselves as being from St. Louis,
25	Missouri and they say, "If you are affiliated with

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- 1 Party A, you vote on Tuesday. If you're affiliated
- 2 with Party B, you vote on Wednesday."
- 3 So that information would be reviewed by
- 4 the analyst that does the intake, and that would
- 5 likely revolve -- result in a lead being sent to
- 6 the St. Louis field office to work with the U.S.
- 7 Attorney's Office to see if, you know, they should
- 8 serve a subpoena to get the additional information
- 9 or if it, you know, if it rises to the level of an
- 10 election requirement.
- 11 Q. Does the FBI also report -- does anyone on
- 12 that chain in the FBI report it to the social media
- 13 platform to be assessed under their
- 14 content-modulation policies?
- 15 A. So that would only -- that -- that type of
- 16 process that I'm aware of only happened during the
- 17 election command post that I mentioned to you
- 18 previously.
- 19 Q. So if somebody went to FBI.gov and said,
- 20 "Hey, you know, someone's saying in Missouri
- 21 Republicans vote on Tuesday, Democrats vote on
- Wednesday," that would be referred to the Missouri
- 23 field office for an investigation?
- 24 A. Yeah, that would be referred to the St.
- 25 Louis field office for investigation. And then

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- 1 like, the investigators in the St. Louis office
- 2 along with the U.S. Attorney's Office would
- 3 determine if that is something that should be sent
- 4 to FBI headquarters. And then that would be sent
- 5 to FBI headquarters and there would be an FBI OGC
- 6 attorney as well as a DOJ public integrity attorney
- 7 along with, you know, another FBI official. They
- 8 would all look at it and say, "Yes, we believe that
- 9 this should be sent to FBI San Francisco."
- 10 So by the time it's reached us, there's
- 11 already been what I will characterize as an FBI
- 12 headquarter stamp of approval.
- 13 Q. And the FBI San Francisco then would relay
- 14 those to social media platforms as you've discussed
- 15 **earlier** --
- 16 A. Yes.
- 17 Q. -- in your testimony, correct?
- 18 A. Yes, correct.
- 19 Q. And there the idea is that the social
- 20 media platforms will assess those in connection
- 21 with their terms of service, assess them for
- 22 compliance with their terms of service, correct?
- 23 A. That is correct.
- Q. What if somebody posts something like
- 25 "Voting by mail is unreliable, and your ballot

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1	probably won't get there so don't vote that way"?
2	MR. SUR: Objection; incomplete
3	hypothetical.
4	Q. BY MR. SAUER: What would happen to a
5	report like that to FBI.gov?
6	A. So I think that would also be reviewed by
7	the attorneys. When I mean "the attorneys," I mean
8	specifically the FBI headquarters attorney as well
9	as a DOJ public integrity attorney, and they will
10	determine whether it will get sent to San Francisco
11	or not.
12	Q. And would something like that, in your
13	experience, get sent to San Francisco?
14	A. In my experience, something vague like
15	that would not get sent to San Francisco.
16	Q. How about something specific like "Voting
17	by mail is rife with fraud and it involves tons of
18	people cheating and therefore, it should be
19	abolished," how about that?
20	MR. SUR: Objection; hypothetical.
21	THE WITNESS: Honestly, I have never saw
22	that type of complaint being submitted to us
23	through the command post. As I mentioned to you
24	previously, it was, from my recollection, time,
25	place or manner disinformation or misinformation.

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1	Q. BY MR. SAUER: What do you remember
2	specifically about those being referred to you?
3	What kind of things do you remember specifically
4	A. The example I gave you where if you are
5	registered with Party A, you vote on Tuesday; if
6	you're registered with Party B, you vote on
7	Wednesday. So that was a frequent one.
8	Another one was, depending on what state,
9	some states where it has to arrive at the polling
10	location on election day, whereas other states
11	allow it the ballot the mail-in ballot to be
12	postmarked by election day. So I remember I would
13	look, and I was like, "Oh, like, huh, I don't
14	understand this one." And then maybe I would
15	follow up with the field office and they say,
16	"Elvis, in our state it has to arrive at the
17	polling location by a certain date."
18	So that would be the type of different
19	information that we would provide to the social
20	media companies.
21	Q. And I take it you testified earlier that
22	posting the wrong information about that, the date
23	that your ballot has to arrive, is criminal on
24	in the government's view; is that right?
25	A. It is a potential violation of federal

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- 1 election laws.
- 2 Q. What federal election statute does it
- 3 violate?
- 4 MR. SUR: Objection; calls for legal
- 5 conclusion.
- THE WITNESS: I am not an attorney, but
- 7 you hear me saying the words "time, place or manner
- 8 disinformation." So just based on my law
- 9 enforcement training where the attorneys tell me
- 10 that anything that is related to false information
- 11 about the time, place or manner of an election or
- 12 about the voting process, that that is a potential
- 13 election crime.
- 14 Q. BY MR. SAUER: You refer to the social
- 15 media platforms being very aggressive in trying to
- 16 take down any disinformation or misinformation.
- 17 What were you talking about?
- 18 A. I was saying in contrast to 2016 when they
- 19 took no actions.
- Q. What did they do to be very aggressive?
- 21 A. So as I mentioned to you previously, they
- 22 developed technologies to be able to detect
- 23 foreign-malign-influence operations, and they also
- 24 add just their policies to be able to handle
- 25 foreign-malign-influence operations.

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1	MR. SAUER: I am going to show you Exhibit
2	15. Indraneel, I sent you an email.
3	MR. SUR: Okay. 15.
4	(Reporter marked Exhibit No. 15 for
5	identification.)
6	Q. BY MR. SAUER: Agent Chan, can you see
7	this on the screen share?
8	A. Yes, the title "Preparing for Retaliatory
9	Attacks from Russia."
10	Q. On June 29, 2022?
11	A. Yes.
12	Q. Again, this is a court reporter-created
13	transcript of your podcast or interview with Anna
14	Delaney on that date. Do you see that?
15	A. Yeah, on June 29th, 2022.
16	Q. Who is Anna Delaney?
17	A. She is now the now that I am looking at
18	the transcript, she is a reporter with ISMG.
19	Q. Do you remember giving this interview last
20	June?
21	A. I believe this was in the context of the
22	RSA conference, but I can't remember specifically.
23	As I mentioned, I did a lot of public
24	speaking, and I get interviewed frequently by media
25	outlets.

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1	Q. Going down to Page 8 of this transcript,
2	starting on Page 7 you see that Ms. Delaney asks
3	about the midterm elections 2022 and she asked you
4	what the FBI is doing to prepare, right? "What's
5	the FBI doing to prepare," you see that at the
6	bottom of the page?
7	A. Okay. I see that question.
8	Q. And you respond to that, "The good news
9	is, post 2020, we've never stopped," right?
10	A. Yes, I said that.
11	Q. You say that you were "As soon as
12	November 3rd happened in 2020, we just pretty much
13	rolled into preparing for 2022," correct?
14	A. Yes.
15	Q. And you say a little lower down you
16	say, "From FBI San Francisco's standpoint, we are
17	also really engaged with the technology companies
18	out here and represented here at the RSA
19	conference." There you go.
20	A. Yeah, so yeah, it was at the RSA
21	conference.
22	Q. "So making sure that, you know, any
23	vulnerabilities we think advanced persistent
24	threats would be using" and so forth, right?
25	A. Yes.

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1	Q. I think what you're talking about there is
2	potential hacking attempts and working with the
3	social media companies to defend against hacking
4	attempts; is that right?
5	A. I wouldn't say because I mention
6	technology companies, against all types of
7	companies, even non-social media companies.
8	Q. Got you. You say, "We're also working
9	with the social media companies to make sure that
10	any foreign disinformation that's coming out that,
11	you know, like, if we can identify them, we can
12	share that information with them so they can knock
13	down accounts, knock down disinformation content,"
14	correct?
15	A. Yes, I said that.
16	Q. And do you agree with that statement, that
17	you were working with social media companies in the
18	2022 election cycle to make sure that foreign
19	disinformation would be identified and you could
20	share that information with them so they can knock
21	down accounts and knock down disinformation
22	content?
23	A. Yeah, so looking at that sentence and from
24	my recollection, the FBI part of it is the
25	information sharing portion, and then the social

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- 1 media company portion is to decide if it violates
- 2 their terms of service. And if it does violate
- 3 their terms of service, one of the actions they
- 4 could take is to knock down accounts or to knock
- 5 down content.
- 6 Q. And the purpose of the information sharing
- 7 is the get them to assess it; and potentially if it
- 8 violates the terms of service, to knock down
- 9 content, correct, right?
- 10 MR. SUR: Objection; mischaracterizes the
- 11 document, calls for speculation.
- 12 THE WITNESS: Our -- my purpose was to
- 13 share information with them so that they could
- 14 protect their platforms as they deemed appropriate.
- 15 I did highlight two of the actions that they could
- 16 potentially take, which include knocking down
- 17 accounts or knocking down misinformation content.
- 18 Q. BY MR. SAUER: And you're aware that they
- do both of those things in response to your reports
- of disinformation on their platforms?
- 21 A. I am aware of that because of the feedback
- 22 they have provided me on several occasions.
- Q. Do you know Jen Easterly?
- 24 A. I do know Jen Easterly.
- Q. How do you know Jen Easterly?

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- 1 A. I actually met her at this conference for
- 2 the first time.
- 3 Q. Had you been aware of her before that?
- 4 A. I was aware when she was nominated and
- 5 confirmed for her role as the director of CISA.
- 6 Q. Were you aware that she's a Star Trek fan?
- 7 A. I am aware that she's a Star Trek fan.
- 8 Q. How do you know that?
- 9 A. From reading news articles about her,
- 10 specifically at the Black Hat and DEF CON
- 11 conference which had happened previously.
- 12 Q. What is the Black Hat and DEF CON
- 13 conference?
- 14 A. That -- those are two conferences which
- 15 are back to back in Las Vegas sometime in the
- 16 summer, and they are -- next to the RSA
- 17 conference -- the leading cybersecurity conferences
- 18 in the American industry.
- 19 Q. Did you have any -- have you had any
- 20 communications with Jen Easterly about
- 21 disinformation on social media?
- 22 A. No, I have not had -- the one time I met
- 23 her in person was at the RSA conference. And
- 24 primarily what I recollect us talking about was
- 25 that I wanted her to have additional CISA

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- 1 personnel, specifically to embed with FBI San
- 2 Francisco cyber task force.
- 3 Q. Did she agree to that?
- 4 A. She said that she would work on it.
- 5 Q. Did it happen?
- A. I was told by the CISA official, the
- 7 regional CISA officials that I work with that there
- 8 are funded bullets to hire people, but they are --
- 9 I believe they are still going through the hiring
- 10 process.
- 11 Q. Who are the regional CISA officials that
- 12 you work with?
- 13 A. There are two regional CISA officials that
- 14 I work with. One individual is based in
- 15 Sacramento. His name is Mario Garcia. And then
- 16 the second individual is based in the Los Angeles
- 17 area. His name is Joseph Oregon.
- 18 Q. How do you -- what do you do to work with
- 19 them?
- 20 A. So primarily when I work with them, it is
- 21 on cybersecurity matters. So we coordinate
- 22 regularly with CISA on any cyber attacks against
- 23 critical infrastructure companies.
- 24 For example, a ransomware attack or a data
- 25 breach against an energy company or -- yeah,

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- 1 specifically an example I can give you is the
- 2 ransomware attack against the Colonial Pipeline
- 3 Company.
- 4 Q. Do you work with CISA on any
- 5 disinformation issues?
- 6 A. I do not work with those two individuals
- 7 on disinformation issues.
- 8 Q. Do you work with anyone else at CISA on
- 9 any disinformation issues?
- 10 A. Only as we have discussed in the CISA-led
- 11 USG-industry working group meetings.
- 12 Q. I am going to open up Exhibit 6 again and
- 13 share it with you. These are the amended
- 14 interrogatory responses. Can you see them on the
- 15 screen share now?
- 16 A. Which exhibit is that?
- 17 MR. SUR: This is 6. This is on the first
- 18 page.
- 19 THE WITNESS: Okay.
- Q. BY MR. SAUER: I am going to scroll back
- 21 down to Page 38.
- 22 A. Okay.
- Q. We talked a bit about this USG-industry
- 24 meeting that's identified here, correct?
- 25 A. You're on the first bullet on that page,

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- 1 is that what you're referring to?
- Q. The first bullet on Page 37.
- 3 A. Okay. "A recurring meeting usually
- 4 entitled USG-industry meeting," yes.
- 5 Q. Okay. We talked about -- I think we
- 6 talked about the participants in this meeting in
- 7 detail, and the CISA participants you mentioned are
- 8 Matt Masterson and Brian Scully?
- 9 A. That's correct.
- 10 Q. How about DHS's Office of Intelligence and
- 11 Analysis, who participated from there?
- 12 A. I can't remember. I believe whoever was
- 13 the head of that organization -- someone from I&A
- 14 showed up, but I don't remember the names.
- 15 O. What does I&A do? What is it?
- 16 A. So from my knowledge of I&A, they are the
- intelligence community agency, or at least one of
- 18 them, within the Department of Homeland Security.
- 19 What I -- the products that I have seen from them
- 20 are all-source products, which means I have seen
- 21 them take, you know, intelligence reports from
- 22 different government agencies and provide more
- 23 strategic overview types of products. That is what
- 24 I have personally seen from I&A.
- 25 O. Let's scroll down to this next bullet

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1	point where it talks about a CISA cybersecurity
2	advisory meeting. Do you know anything about those
3	meetings between CISA and social media platforms?
4	A. I have never heard of the CISA
5	cybersecurity advisory committee meetings. I have
6	never heard of that organization within CISA.
7	Q. How about "ASD-HKS Tech Policy Paper
8	Series," do you know anything about those meetings?
9	A. No, I don't even know what the acronym
10	stands for.
11	Q. How about "DHS/Microsoft Disinformation
12	Follow Up"?
13	A. I have no idea what that is in reference
14	to.
15	Q. Let's scroll down to the CISA response.
16	See there's an additional response under the
17	heading here "CISA"; do you see that?
18	A. Yes.
19	Q. And that's CISA, C-I-S-A, in all caps?
20	A. Yes.

There's a reference here in the second

bullet point above that we discussed.

24 bullet point to "A recurring meeting to prepare for

Q. It looks like it is identical to the

and set the agenda for the USG-industry meeting,

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21

22

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1	and participants have generally included CISA and
2	Facebook." Do you see that?
3	A. I see that.
4	Q. That is a meeting to prepare for the
5	meeting that we talked about in detail; is that
6	right?
7	A. I see that.
8	Q. Were you aware that there were such
9	meetings?
10	A. I was not aware that there was a separate
11	preparatory meeting between CISA and Facebook ahead
12	of the broader USG-industry meeting. I was only
13	aware of the USG side, you know, where they would
14	convene us to ask us, specifically the FBI and the
15	other federal components, what agenda topics we
16	wanted to talk about.
17	Q. So you participated in your own
18	preparatory meeting with CISA that did not involve
19	social media platforms, correct?
20	A. That is correct.
21	Q. During the course of those preparatory
22	meetings, CISA would ask the FBI, you, Elvis Chan,
23	what topics it might be useful to discuss at the
24	USG-industry meeting?
25	A. Yes. They would ask the FBI, and I was a

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- 1 part of the contingent.
- Q. Who was on that contingent?
- 3 A. It would typically be Laura -- the
- 4 individuals that I mentioned from FITF, Laura
- 5 Dehmlow, Luke Giannini, Bill Cone, Brady Olson,
- 6 Judy Chock. It would not necessarily be all of
- 7 them, but it would be a subset of them or at least
- 8 one of them. Sometimes the FBI would not have any
- 9 agenda items for the CISA-hosted meetings.
- 10 Q. Anyone else from FBI participate in those
- 11 meetings?
- 12 A. I can't recollect anyone else.
- 13 Q. How about who from CISA would participate
- 14 in those meetings?
- 15 A. As I mentioned to you, the two people I
- 16 remember are Mr. Masterson and Mr. Scully.
- 17 Q. The same two who had run the USG-industry
- 18 meeting, the big meeting, right?
- 19 A. They were the two ranking officials that I
- 20 was aware of from CISA.
- Q. Would those preparatory meetings be just
- 22 Mr. Scully and Mr. Masterson and FBI, or would
- other agencies be involved with them?
- A. From my recollection, the ODNI, I&A, they
- 25 would be involved in them as well. So we may have

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- 1 the preparatory call or we may just have a
- 2 coordination email. I remember both of those
- 3 methods happening.
- 4 Q. In either the email or the preparatory
- 5 call, did anyone ever discuss raising hack-and-leak
- 6 operations or the risk of hack-and-leak operations
- 7 in a USG-industry meeting?
- 8 MR. SUR: Objection; falls within the
- 9 deliberative process privilege for interagency
- 10 discussions and recommendations.
- 11 THE WITNESS: Yeah, I don't recollect that
- 12 being a specific topic of discussion.
- In my recollection, or in my opinion, this
- 14 would be just a general topic of continued
- 15 interest.
- 16 O. BY MR. SAUER: What else was discussed in
- 17 those preparatory meetings, to your recollection?
- 18 MR. SUR: Objection; deliberative process
- 19 privilege covers interagency advice and
- 20 recommendations before a decision is made. So I am
- 21 going to -- you can respond if you can without
- 22 describing the specifics of any proposals or
- 23 recommendations.
- 24 THE WITNESS: All I can remember are the
- 25 actual agenda items. So as I mentioned to you

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- 1 previously, CISA would talk about state, county,
- 2 local election processes and infrastructure and
- 3 cybersecurity.
- 4 ODNI, when they spoke, substantively would
- 5 discuss an unclassified description or overview of
- 6 potential nation-state threats.
- 7 And then the FBI would discuss any
- 8 unclassified information or concerns that we had
- 9 related to malign-foreign-influence disinformation
- 10 campaigns.
- 11 Q. BY MR. SAUER: Would that include the kind
- of strategic and tactical information you testified
- 13 about earlier?
- 14 A. No. It would be a very condensed or, I'm
- 15 sorry, more general version of strategic
- 16 information that we would share with the specific
- 17 companies, and we would never share tactical
- 18 information at the CISA-hosted meetings.
- 19 Q. That would only be on the kind of one
- 20 or -- sort of one-on-one meeting, not really
- one-on-one, but FBI meeting with a specific social
- 22 media platform, correct?
- 23 A. Yes, that is -- that is correct. And the
- 24 reason for that is because we would be providing
- 25 law enforcement sensitive information in some

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- 1 instances to the companies.
- Q. Next bullet point refers to a CISA
- 3 Cybersecurity Advisory Committee meetings on
- 4 certain dates in 2021 and 2022. Do you know what
- 5 those meetings are about?
- 6 A. I do not.
- 7 Q. Below that, "CISA CSAC, protecting
- 8 critical infrastructure from misinformation and
- 9 disinformation subcommittee meetings"?
- 10 A. I have no idea what those are.
- 11 Q. How about this next bullet point,
- 12 "Meetings convened by the Election Infrastructure
- 13 Subsector Government Coordinating Council
- 14 (EIS-GCC)," do you know what the EIS-GCC is?
- 15 A. I do not know what that organization is.
- 16 O. How about the Election Infrastructure
- 17 Subsector Government Coordinating Council Joint MDM
- 18 Working Group?
- 19 A. I do not know what that is.
- Q. Do you know what the Joint MDM Working
- 21 Group is?
- 22 A. I do not know what that is.
- Q. Slipping back, it had to be recurring
- 24 USG-industry meetings, I can't remember if you said
- 25 this earlier, these continued throughout 2022,

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Q. And they are planned to continue through 2024, right? A. I don't know that for a fact, but I would assume so. Q. And disinformation concerns are discussed at these meetings on a regular basis? A. I would say from the companies so as I mentioned to you previously, the federal agencies discuss the topics that they discuss, and then the social media companies, they they provide an overview of the content, which is what I would categorize the disinformation as. For example, CISA would talk about the state election process and different states have different dates for primaries, and, you know, the ODNI would provide threat actor nation-state threat actor updates, and then the FBI would provide a broad overview of what we were seeing from, like, Russian and state-sponsored actors. Q. And then the social media platforms, would they report on what sorts of disinformation they were seeing on posts on their platforms? A. Yes, that is correct. And from my	1	correct?
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A. I don't know that for a fact, but I would assume so. Q. And disinformation concerns are discussed at these meetings on a regular basis? A. I would say from the companies so as I mentioned to you previously, the federal agencies discuss the topics that they discuss, and then the social media companies, they they provide an overview of the content, which is what I would categorize the disinformation as. For example, CISA would talk about the state election process and different states have different dates for primaries, and, you know, the ODNI would provide threat actor nation-state threat actor updates, and then the FBI would provide a broad overview of what we were seeing from, like, Russian and state-sponsored actors. Q. And then the social media platforms, would they report on what sorts of disinformation they were seeing on posts on their platforms?	3	Q. And they are planned to continue through
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from, like, Russian and state-sponsored actors. Q. And then the social media platforms, would they report on what sorts of disinformation they were seeing on posts on their platforms?	19	threat actor updates, and then the FBI would
Q. And then the social media platforms, would they report on what sorts of disinformation they were seeing on posts on their platforms?	20	provide a broad overview of what we were seeing
they report on what sorts of disinformation they were seeing on posts on their platforms?	21	from, like, Russian and state-sponsored actors.
were seeing on posts on their platforms?	22	Q. And then the social media platforms, would
	23	they report on what sorts of disinformation they
25 A. Yes, that is correct. And from my	24	were seeing on posts on their platforms?
	25	A. Yes, that is correct. And from my

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- 1 recollection, this primarily came from the three
- 2 social media companies, Google, Facebook and
- 3 Twitter.
- Q. So in these USG-industry meetings, Google,
- 5 Facebook and Twitter would report on what sorts of
- 6 election-related disinformation they are seeing on
- 7 their platforms?
- 8 A. I would say they would discuss what broad
- 9 types of disinformation they received, whether it
- 10 was election related or not. And the example I
- 11 want to flag for you is from my thesis where, for
- 12 example, you saw like the postings about like Black
- 13 Lives Matters or about 2nd Amendment rights, they
- 14 would -- they would highlight the current topics
- 15 that they saw the Russians were either amplifying
- 16 information about or sowing disinformation about.
- 17 Q. And would you take anything -- let me ask
- 18 you this: If they provided that information, would
- 19 there be a back-and-forth with the FBI or another
- 20 federal agency about how that jibes with the
- 21 information the FBI was seeing in its
- 22 investigations?
- 23 A. We would not discuss that during the
- 24 CISA-hosted USG-industry meetings.
- Q. Would you take what the social media

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1	platforms had reported, that information, and take
2	further action based on that generally?
3	A. In general in general what the social
4	media companies provided at the CISA-industry USG
5	working group meetings was just broad, strategic
6	trends that they were seeing. So there was no
7	actionable information from there.
8	The actionable information shared with the
9	FBI was one-on-one from the companies with FBI San
10	Francisco either during the FITF meetings or
11	outside of the FITF meetings just during the
12	regular course of work.
13	MR. SAUER: Why don't we go off the
14	record.
15	THE VIDEOGRAPHER: Off the record at 5:04
16	p.m.
17	(Whereupon a recess was taken.)
18	THE VIDEOGRAPHER: We are back on the
19	record at 5:15 p.m.
20	(Reporter marked Exhibit No. 2 for
21	identification.)
22	Q. BY MR. SAUER: Mr. Chan, I am going to
23	show you Exhibit 2, which I emailed to your counsel
24	earlier today. This is the read-through version on
25	the screen of the LinkedIn emails.

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1	Mr. Chan, have you actually reviewed this
2	collection of emails?
3	A. I have not.
4	Q. Okay. Are you aware that you're on 121
5	pages of emails with the social media platform
6	LinkedIn setting up meetings in 2020 and 2022, as
7	you talked about today?
8	A. So I don't know the exact number, but I
9	believe that sounds about right.
10	Q. And that would be what you did with
11	LinkedIn, you also would have done with about six
12	or seven other social media platforms as well,
13	scheduling monthly sorry, quarterly then monthly
14	then weekly meetings that led up to the elections,
15	right?
16	A. That's correct, they would be similar
17	types of correspondence.
18	Q. On the first page here you talk about
19	"Increased cadence touch point before election"
20	when you're sending an invite to them. Why did you
21	increase cadence before the election?
22	A. This was actually at the company's
23	request. We said, "Do you think a quarterly
24	cadence is enough or should we go to a more
25	frequent cadence?" I would say I can't remember

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- 1 which companies, but I would characterize most of
- 2 the companies as wanting at least a weekly cadence
- 3 just to have a touch point on the calendar in case
- 4 they or we wanted to talk about something.
- 5 Q. Typically did you actually meet with them
- on a weekly basis in the two months or so before
- 7 the election?
- 8 A. I think generally we had a meeting, but
- 9 like I don't remember, like, the substance. You
- 10 know, if during this message thread I may have, you
- 11 know, put an agenda item or two, then we would have
- 12 had substance. But I can't remember just from
- 13 looking at these emails. I would have documented
- 14 any substantive meetings that we had with LinkedIn
- 15 or any of the other companies.
- 16 Q. When you say "documented," did you write
- 17 up a report of it?
- 18 A. Yes. So the system of record for the FBI
- 19 is called Sentinel. It is a file management
- 20 system, and I would have and I did document every
- 21 substantive interaction that I had with social
- 22 media companies, or actually any organization, for
- 23 that matter.
- Q. Would you have written Sentinel reports
- for all of the FITF social media platform meetings?

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- 1 A. Based on my recollection, I wrote almost
- 2 all of them, but maybe not all of them. And the
- 3 reason I say that is malign foreign influence is
- 4 just one of the issues that I have to deal with in
- 5 my role. The majority of my role is dealing with
- 6 cyber investigations. So maybe on a couple of
- 7 occasions I may have asked someone else to write
- 8 the meeting summary on my behalf.
- 9 Q. But there would be a Sentinel report for
- 10 every meeting that you had with a social media
- 11 platform that discussed this information and/or
- 12 malign foreign influence?
- 13 A. Yes. There would be -- in FBI parlance,
- 14 they are called electronic communications, ECs.
- 15 Q. So ECs exist that record your
- 16 contemporaneous recollection of all of these
- meetings we have been talking about?
- 18 A. That is correct.
- 19 Q. And do those ECs exist with respect to the
- 20 USG-industry meetings?
- 21 A. I would say that I documented all the
- 22 meetings that I attended at those CISA USG-industry
- 23 meetings.
- 24 Q. So you -- would you have documented what
- discussions that were related to foreign hacking

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⊥ attempts?		attempts?	1
-------------	--	-----------	---

- 2 A. I think in general, my practice for that
- 3 was I would take the agenda from the email provided
- 4 by CISA, and then I would cut and paste that or I
- 5 would just retype that into my meeting summary.
- 6 Q. So your meeting summary would just be the
- 7 agenda that you were given?
- 8 A. Yes. I would say in the vast majority, if
- 9 not all, of the communications. And the reason for
- 10 that is because they were just very broad overviews
- or, you know, trends that were being discussed.
- 12 Q. Whereas you'd have more specific detail in
- your ECs with respect to the FITF social media
- 14 platform bilateral sync meetings?
- 15 A. That is correct. I believe the reason for
- 16 that is because the companies felt more comfortable
- 17 or more forthcoming in a bilateral setting as
- 18 opposed to in a group setting because these
- 19 companies are all competitors at the end of the
- 20 day. That is just my personal opinion.
- Q. On the third page of this document, where
- 22 are those -- by the way, where are those ECs
- 23 stored, or they are all housed by the FBI?
- A. Yeah. As I mentioned, they are in an
- 25 application called Sentinel. They would be

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- 1 stored -- so as I mentioned, Sentinel is a case
- 2 file management system. So they would be
- 3 documented to the appropriate case file.
- 4 Q. And then -- and those reports still exist,
- 5 correct?
- 6 A. Yes.
- 7 Q. The third page of this document there's a
- 8 response to you from someone at LinkedIn whose
- 9 identity is redacted, but they are identified as
- 10 "Director of Threat Prevention LinkedIn Trust &
- 11 Safety."
- 12 (Discussion off the record.)
- Q. BY MR. SAUER: Third page of this
- document, now do you see it on the screen share?
- 15 You are communicating with --
- 16 A. Is it the one -- is it the one dated
- 17 September 29, 2020, 11:17 a.m.?
- 18 Q. Yes. No, 11:39 a.m., third page of the
- 19 document. Just if you look at the -- can you see
- it on the screen share? I am highlighting it.
- 21 A. Yeah, it looks like the email was sent
- 22 Tuesday, September 29, 2020, 11:17 a.m.
- Q. Yeah, yeah, you're right. I'm sorry. I
- was looking at the top.
- 25 My only question is: Is this consistent

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- 1 with what you testified earlier, that in these
- 2 bilateral meetings between FITF and the social
- media platforms, the people that you would be
- 4 meeting with would be trust and safety and site
- 5 integrity people, correct?
- A. Yes. Yeah, it would be typically director
- 7 level and then their direct reports and, you know,
- 8 people from the organizations.
- 9 Q. I am going to jump ahead to this page
- 10 which is labeled LinkedIn 86. It is the seventh
- 11 page of the PDF. Here in your email you see dated
- 12 Tuesday, November 17, 2020, which is right after
- the 2020 election, you tell LinkedIn folks that you
- want to have a, quote, Post Election Hot Wash.
- What on earth does that mean, "hot wash"?
- MR. SUR: I am sorry to interrupt. Can I
- 17 ask for you to repeat what page you are on? This
- 18 is a large document.
- MR. SAUER: Seventh page of the PDF.
- 20 MR. SUR: Seventh page of the PDF.
- 21 MR. SAUER: It's got Bates No. 86 at the
- 22 bottom.
- 23 MR. SUR: Okay. Okay. Mr. Chan, if you
- 24 want to read the document.
- 25 THE WITNESS: Is this a document dated

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- 1 Tuesday, November 17th, 2020, 12:16:09 p.m.?
- Q. BY MR. SAUER: Yeah. And you say --
- 3 A. If you could bear with me while I read my
- 4 email.
- 5 **Q.** Sure.
- A. Oh, yeah, so you said the second agenda
- 7 item was "Post Election Hot Wash"?
- 8 Q. Yeah. What does that mean?
- 9 A. So sorry. That is a law enforcement term.
- 10 A hot wash -- so after the FBI -- when we conduct a
- 11 search operation or execute an arrest operation,
- 12 after we're done with the operation, then we have a
- 13 meeting as closely thereafter the operation as we
- 14 can to discuss what we thought went well, what we
- 15 thought needs improvement, what we think needs to
- 16 change for next time.
- 17 So a hot wash is similar to an
- 18 after-action meeting.
- 19 Q. Did you discuss with all the social media
- 20 platforms what went well, what didn't go well and
- 21 what we need to do differently next time?
- 22 A. Yes. From my recollection, we had hot
- 23 wash meetings with all of the social media
- 24 companies that I previously listed.
- 25 Q. And what did -- what did you all think

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1	went well and think didn't go well?
2	A. So based on my recollection, this is
3	specifically during the election command post that
4	this hot wash occurred. So after the election
5	command post. So my recollection was the hot wash
6	was specifically about the election command post.
7	And for that context, what the companies
8	said worked well was that I don't know if I
9	mentioned this yet, but we used two separate
10	communication channels to communicate with the
11	social media companies at the election command
12	post. One was called Signal I don't know if
13	you're familiar with that communication
14	application. It's an encrypted chat app.
15	And then the second method is via the
16	Teleporter application, which I referenced before
17	is the FBI's secure file transfer application.
18	So as I mentioned before, the companies
19	liked knowing that they were getting information in
20	realtime from the FBI and that they were getting
21	the same information as all of the other companies
22	on the Signal chat app. That was one of the things
23	I was highlighting as good.
24	Another thing that was highlighted as good
25	by the companies who received information from us

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- 1 is we would send information about malign foreign
- 2 influence to specific companies as we became aware
- 3 of it, and then they would review it and determine
- 4 if they needed to take action.
- 5 So the companies who did receive
- 6 one-to-one Teleporter information from us also
- 7 liked that.
- 8 So those were the two things that I
- 9 remember that people liked in general.
- 10 Q. What did they not like?
- 11 A. So I think that -- so I don't remember the
- 12 social media companies telling us there wasn't
- 13 anything that they did not like. What I do
- 14 remember was I can't remember who, perhaps it was
- 15 me, just so you're aware, for the Signal channel,
- 16 it was one-way communication. It was the FBI,
- 17 specifically the FBI San Francisco command post,
- 18 disseminating information to the companies.
- 19 If the companies needed to relay
- 20 information back to the FBI, they would contact the
- 21 FBI San Francisco election command post either by
- 22 telephone or by email and request a Teleporter
- 23 link, and then they would share information back to
- 24 us in that fashion.
- Q. You think that was a cumbersome process?

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1	A. It was not realtime. I mean, at the end
2	of the day, I don't remember any specific instance
3	where the delay caused any harm to anything, but I
4	think what my preference would have been was for
5	if they needed to, to set up direct Signal channels
6	only with the FBI so that they could get realtime
7	information as well.
8	But the social media companies or
9	actually all of the companies who were on the
10	receiving end, they I was told that they all had
11	an internal discussion and their preference was to
12	only use Signal for FBI broadcasts.
13	Q. You mentioned Signal and Teleporter as two
14	channels of communication between the FBI and the
15	social media companies. Are there any others?
16	A. No. So, I mean let me rephrase that.
17	The only other commun the only other situations
18	where we relayed information to the companies was
19	during those quarterly or monthly or weekly FITF
20	meetings with the social media companies. So that,
21	I guess, would be a third method of relaying
22	information.
23	Q. Is Signal a self-deleting app? Is it an
24	app where your messages disappear after they are
25	read?

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1	A. So yes, in general, Signal is a
2	self-deleting app. But based on guidance from FBI
3	headquarters, we had to turn that functionality off
4	because we needed to save all of that information.
5	So we did. We took screen shots of all of the
6	information on the Signal channel. We burned it to
7	DVDs, and then we have saved it as evidence.
8	Q. So all the all the communications on
9	Signal between FBI and social media platforms from
10	2022 and 2020 are saved on on DVDs or CDs?
11	A. No. Only the information only the
12	Signal information from the 2020 FBI San Francisco
13	command post was saved. And the reason for that
14	was both the social media companies as well as the
15	FBI assessed that there would not require the need
16	for the Signal channel because we did not
17	anticipate a large amount of information being
18	disseminated from the FBI for the 2022 midterm
19	elections.
20	Q. Did you not use Signal at all in 2022?
21	A. No. It was primarily through Teleporter.
22	Q. You did use Teleporter for the 2022
23	elections to report misinformation concerns to
24	social media platforms?
25	A. That is correct.

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1	Q. And then you used both version or both
2	channels in 2020?
3	A. That's correct.
4	Q. And the Teleporter communication still
5	exists as well; is that right?
6	A. Yes, they currently exist.
7	Q. On this same page you talk about "what we
8	need to do differently for next time." What did
9	you what did you all decide you need to do
10	differently next time?
11	MR. SUR: Objection; calls for
12	speculation.
13	THE WITNESS: Honestly, I wrote that down,
14	but I don't remember any things that the companies
15	wanted to do differently.
16	Q. BY MR. SAUER: I take it one thing you did
17	do differently was you stopped using Signal, right?
18	A. Well, that was for the 2022 elections only
19	because both the companies and the FBI assessed
20	that there would not be the same volume of
21	information that happened in the 2020 cycle. I
22	believe that differentiation is, you know, between
23	a general elections versus a midterm election.
24	MR. SAUER: I am going to jump ahead to
25	the page marked LinkedIn 146. And Indraneel, it is
I	

Page 300

- 1 the tenth page of the PDF.
- 2 MR. SUR: Tenth page of the PDF.
- 3 Q. BY MR. SAUER: If you go up there on the
- 4 ninth page, Agent Chan, you see that Tuesday, July
- 5 14th, 2020, 11:02 a.m. there's an email from you to
- 6 the LinkedIn team?
- 7 MR. SUR: I apologize. I am not seeing
- 8 the date. Is the date at the bottom of the
- 9 previous page?
- 10 MR. SAUER: The date's at the bottom of
- 11 Page 9 if you look at the file share.
- THE WITNESS: Did you say July 14, 2020,
- 13 11:02 a.m.?
- 14 Q. BY MR. SAUER: I said that.
- 15 A. Okay.
- 16 Q. If you scroll down, you are talking about
- 17 having the next round of FITF bilateral meetings
- 18 with LinkedIn scheduled. Do you see that?
- 19 A. Correct.
- Q. And then at the bottom you say, "Planning
- for U.S. elections: FBI posture, your posture, and
- the information sharing" channel and "channels and
- 23 methods," correct?
- 24 A. Yes.
- Q. What did you mean by "FBI posture and your

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- 2 A. The FBI posture was what the FBI San
- 3 Francisco command post would look like, when it
- 4 would be active, who it would be staffed by. And
- 5 then the FITF personnel would describe what the FBI
- 6 headquarters command post would look like. That's
- 7 what was meant by "FBI posture."
- 8 Q. This is planning --
- 9 A. And then your --
- 10 Q. Go ahead.
- 11 A. And then "Your posture," that's when we
- 12 asked the companies how they expected to have
- 13 personnel.
- Just so you're aware, I think in general,
- 15 like FBI -- so FBI headquarters, they just ran 24
- 16 hours a day for their command post, I believe from
- 17 Friday to Tuesday. FBI San Francisco ran from, I
- 18 believe, 8:00 o'clock in the morning to perhaps
- 19 10:00 o'clock at night every day except the
- 20 election, when we ran until midnight.
- 21 So asking about your posture would be
- 22 asking the companies when they intended to have
- 23 personnel on what days monitoring their platform
- 24 for any threats that they saw.
- 25 Q. And what did you say about information

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4	
1	sharing channels and methods?
2	A. So I think that is when we wanted to
3	confirm if Signal and Teleporter would be the
4	accepted communication channels.
5	Q. Anything else?
6	A. Not that I'm aware of.
7	Q. Were the tech companies okay with using
8	Signal and Teleporter?
9	A. So the tech companies were the ones who
10	suggested Signal as the real the, quote/unquote,
11	realtime communication platform.
12	Q. And the FBI continued to use Teleporter as
13	well?
14	A. Yes. Because that is our secure file
15	transfer system, and I believe that the companies
16	were comfortable using that system.
17	Q. Jump ahead to LinkedIn 163.
18	(Discussion off the record.)
19	MR. SUR: May I ask what the SES heading
20	is?
21	MR. SAUER: This is the twenty-first page
22	of the PDF.
23	Q. Agent Chan, you see there on the file
24	share this is an email from you to the LinkedIn
25	team dated October 19th, 2020?

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- 1 MR. SUR: Yes, let's just give him a
- 2 moment to see it on the screen.
- 3 THE WITNESS: Yes, I see that email.
- 4 Q. BY MR. SAUER: In this email you say
- 5 "LinkedIn folks," says, "Subject: Additional
- 6 information," correct?
- 7 A. Yes.
- 8 Q. There's a gentleman here who you've copied
- 9 from -- right there with the initials AF from the
- 10 FBI. Do you see that?
- 11 A. Yes, I do.
- 12 Q. Who is he?
- 13 A. He is a member of the Foreign Influence
- 14 Task Force, specifically the global unit.
- 15 Q. What does "CID" stand for next to his
- 16 name?
- 17 A. Criminal Investigative Division. That's a
- 18 headquarters component.
- 19 Q. You refer to someone by a nickname here
- and in the body of the email. Is that the same
- 21 individual with the initials AF?
- 22 A. That is correct.
- Q. You say, "LinkedIn folks, please see
- 24 additional information from FITF-Global Unit. I
- 25 have cc'd" that guy "in case you have any

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1	questions. Thanks."
2	Do you have any idea what the initial
3	information was you are sending here?
4	A. I have I have no idea. I can't
5	remember. I sent so much you know, it happens
6	so regularly, I couldn't even speculate.
7	Q. It says it looks like you cut and
8	pasted some texts saying, "Named U.S. political
9	party: Republicans. Named U.S. presidential
10	candidate: Biden. The U.S. President: Trump."
11	Do you have any idea what that's referring to?
12	A. I don't. I can provide you with my
13	speculation.
14	Q. Go ahead.
4 -	

- 15 A. I believe that link -- I believe that we
- 16 may not have named with specificity the U.S.
- 17 political party, the U.S. presidential candidate or
- 18 the U.S. president, and that LinkedIn may have
- 19 asked for clarifying information.
- 20 Q. About what, clarifying --
- 21 A. About the information that was shared.
- 22 Q. Here there's a reference here to
- 23 "Information Sharing 5," right?
- 24 A. Yes.
- 25 O. What's that mean?

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1	A. So to me that would mean I had probably
2	shared I don't know this for a fact, but from my
3	own speculation, I would believe that at some point
4	in October I shared five separate documents with
5	at least five separate documents with LinkedIn, and
6	that one of the documents was named "Information
7	Sharing 5," and that within that document we have
8	information about a U.S. political party, a U.S.
9	presidential candidate and a U.S. president.
10	Q. What kind of information about the U.S.
11	political party, presidential candidate, president
12	would you have shared with LinkedIn?
13	A. I have I have no idea. I can't
14	recollect, unfortunately, without looking at the
15	actual document.
16	Q. Would it be disinformation related?
17	A. My guess would be it would be
18	disinformation related. And because it's coming
19	from the global unit, it would be disinformation
20	information not related to Russia or China.
21	Because global unit handles Iran and other
22	countries.
23	Q. This would be a potentially
24	malign-foreign-influence-type activity from

countries other than Russia or China?

25

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- 1 A. Without seeing the actual document or
- 2 remembering at this time, that would be my best
- 3 assessment.
- 4 Q. Let me jump ahead to a page marked
- 5 LinkedIn 168. This is the twenty-sixth page of the
- 6 PDF. Are you with me?
- 7 MR. SUR: Yes. Mr. Chan needs a moment to
- 8 review the document.
- 9 THE WITNESS: Is this a document sent on
- 10 11/19/2020 9:07:16 a.m.?
- 11 Q. BY MR. SAUER: Correct. In this email you
- 12 say, "LinkedIn folks, heads up I'll be sending you
- a Teleporter link with new indicators, which are
- 14 not election related." Do you know what that
- 15 means?
- 16 A. I can't remember, but I would surmise that
- 17 it meant it was not related to the election that
- 18 just occurred earlier in the month.
- 19 Q. And then indicators I think you testified
- 20 earlier refers to URLs or specific accounts or
- 21 things of that nature, right?
- 22 A. Yes. It would be different indicia of
- 23 that nature.
- 24 Q. So do you flag disinformation/
- 25 misinformation from malign foreign actors to social

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1	media platforms that doesn't relate to elections?
2	A. I don't know why I I can't remember why
3	I flagged that as not being election related. I
4	think the only I don't recall exactly, but I
5	would surmise that I would have flagged it as
6	election like, if it was election related, I
7	believe that all of the companies, including
8	LinkedIn, would have acted on it quickly.
9	You know, everyone was very tired from
10	working very long hours and very long shifts during
11	the election command posts.
12	So that would be the only reason or
13	that would be a reason why I believe I would have
14	flagged it as not election related so that they
15	wouldn't have to, you know like, if they were
16	taking the day off or taking time off because it
17	was near Thanksgiving time frame.
18	Q. What what malign-foreign-influence
19	activities do you flag for social media companies
20	that aren't related to elections? What sort of
21	content do you flag?
22	A. So in general, it would be in general,
23	it would be from our cyber investigations, or from
24	state-sponsored actors that were that we would
25	not believe were associated with hack-and-dump

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1 campaigns. That would be one type of nonelection 2. related. 3 Q. Are there others? 4 Off the top of my head, that's the one Α. 5 that's sticking out to me. That would be a likely 6 type of information. It would be related to a 7 cyber investigation that was not necessarily related to any disinformation, specifically any 9 malign foreign influence. 10 MR. SAUER: I don't have any further 11 questions. 1.2 (Discussion off the record.) 13 EXAMINATION BY MR. SUR 14 Mr. Chan, you testified earlier today 15 about the 2020 Hunter Biden laptop story in the 16 questioning with Mr. Sauer. Do you remember the 17 question that came from a Facebook analyst at one of the meetings in 2020? 18 19 Α. Yes. 20 Okay. And what was that question, to your Q. 2.1 recollection? 2.2 To my recollection, the question was, 2.3 "What can you share about the Hunter Biden case?" 2.4 And at that meeting you were there with Q. 25 other FBI officials; is that right?

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1	A. Yes, with Foreign Influence Task Force
2	officials.
3	Q. Okay. And who were they again?
4	A. I specifically remember Laura Dehmlow was
5	present because she was the official who said that
6	the FBI had no comment.
7	Q. Okay. Did she
8	(Discussion off the record.)
9	Q. BY MR. SUR: So picking up there, did
10	Ms. Dehmlow say anything else?
11	A. Not in response to the Hunter Biden
12	question.
13	MR. SUR: That's all I have.
14	MR. SAUER: Nothing further.
15	(Discussion off the record.)
16	THE VIDEOGRAPHER: Okay. This concludes
17	today's deposition of Elvis Chan. We are off the
18	record at 5:47 p.m.
19	(Whereupon the proceedings were
20	concluded at 5:47 p.m.)
21	000
22	
23	
24	
25	

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1
                DEPOSITION OFFICER'S CERTIFICATE
 2
     STATE OF CALIFORNIA
 3
                            ) ss.
 4
     COUNTY OF SAN FRANCISCO)
5
 6
              I, Balinda Dunlap, hereby certify:
7
              I am a duly qualified Certified Shorthand
 8
     Reporter in the State of California, holder of
     Certificate Number CSR 10710 issued by the Certified Court
9
10
     Reporters' Board of California and which is in full
11
     force and effect. (Fed. R. Civ. P. 28(a)(1)).
              I am authorized to administer oaths or
12
13
     affirmations pursuant to California Code of Civil
14
     Procedure, Section 2093(b) and prior to being examined,
15
     the witness was first duly sworn by me. (Fed. R. Civ.
16
     P. 28(a)(a)).
17
              I am not a relative or employee or attorney or
18
     counsel of any of the parties, nor am I a relative or
     employee of such attorney or counsel, nor am I
19
     financially interested in this action. (Fed. R. Civ. P.
20
21
     28).
22
              I am the deposition officer that
23
     stenographically recorded the testimony in the foregoing
     deposition and the foregoing transcript is a true record
24
25
                                / / /
```

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1	of the testimony given by the witness. (Fed. R. Civ. P.
2	30(f)(1)).
3	Before completion of the deposition, review of
4	the transcript [] was [] was not requested. If
5	requested, any changes made by the deponent (and
6	provided to the reporter) during the period allowed, are
7	appended hereto. (Fed. R. Civ. P. 30(e)).
8	
9	Dated:
10	B. Dwley
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1	LEXITAS LEGAL
2	
2	December 5, 2022
3	DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE 1100 L Street Northwest
4	Washington, D.C. 29530
5	INDRANEEL SUR, ESQ.
6	IN RE: STATE OF MISSOURI, et al. v. JOSEPH R. BIDEN, JUNIOR, et al.
7	Dear Mr. Sur,
8	Please find enclosed your copies of the deposition of
9	ELVIS CHAN taken on November 29, 2022 in the above-referenced case. Also enclosed is the original
10	signature page and errata sheets.
11	
12	Please have the witness read your copy of the
13	transcript, indicate any changes and/or corrections
14	desired on the errata sheets, and sign the signature
15	page before a notary public.
16	
17	Please return the errata sheets and notarized
18	signature page within 30 days to our office at 711 N
19	11th Street, St. Louis, MO 63101 for filing.
20	
21	Sincerely,
22	
23	
24	LEXITAS LEGAL
25	

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1	ERRATA SHEET Witness Name: ELVIS CHAN							
2	Case Name: STATE OF MISSOURI, et al. v. JOSEPH R. BIDEN, JUNIOR, et al.							
3	Date Taken: NOVEMBER 29, 2022							
4								
5	Page # Line #							
6	Should read:							
7	Reason for change:							
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9	Page # Line #							
10	Should read:							
11	Reason for change:							
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13	Page # Line #							
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22	Should read:							
23	Reason for change:							
24								
25	Witness Signature:							

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1	STATE OF)
2	COUNTY OF)
3	
4	I, ELVIS CHAN, do hereby certify:
5	That I have read the foregoing deposition;
6	That I have made such changes in form
7	and/or substance to the within deposition as might
8	be necessary to render the same true and correct;
9	That having made such changes thereon, I
10	hereby subscribe my name to the deposition.
11	I declare under penalty of perjury that the
12	foregoing is true and correct.
13	Executed this,
14	20, at
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